

**SOCIAL CONTEXT, SOCIAL COHESION AND INTERVENTIONS: AN
ASSESSMENT OF EARLY CHILDHOOD DEVELOPMENT (ECD)
PROGRAMMES IN SELECTED COMMUNITIES IN THE CAPE FLATS**

by

EDWINA SAMANTHA SONNENBERG

Submitted in accordance with the requirements for
the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

SUPERVISOR: PROFESSOR GE DU PLESSIS

January 2018

DECLARATION

Student number: 37429086

I declare that **SOCIAL CONTEXT, SOCIAL COHESION AND INTERVENTIONS: AN ASSESSMENT OF EARLY CHILDHOOD DEVELOPMENT (ECD) PROGRAMMES IN SELECTED COMMUNITIES IN THE CAPE FLATS** is my own work and that the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete referencing. I further declare that I have not previously submitted this work, or part of it, for examination to the university or any other institution for another qualification.

MS ES SONNENBERG

31 January 2018

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank my husband Ernest and my daughters Dominique and Tyra for understanding that I had to take on this mammoth task. It was my dream to get a Master's degree in Development Studies by undertaking research in the place of my childhood. As a child from a poor family, growing up in the Cape Flats, I never thought I would ever accomplish this, but I also knew it had to be done.

I am forever grateful to Prof Gretchen du Plessis, my supervisor, for her support and for holding me to a higher standard.

I was inspired by each one of the research participants in this study and every ECDC I visited spurred me on to complete this research. These everyday heroes offered their time, their stories, dreams and hopes freely in this study and I am forever changed by these encounters.

To my friend and colleague Melanie, thank you for your support and encouragement.

I want to pay tribute to my loved ones who passed away during this journey; although you are not here to see the end product, I know you are proud of me. My mother's prayers have seen me through a lot and I dedicate this to her loving memory.

And most importantly, I would like to give thanks to the Almighty God. Thank you Lord for granting me the strength to complete this degree, without the prayers of my family it would never have been possible.

ABSTRACT

South Africa's education system is in crisis. Problems in education directly impact the country's economy through its influence on skills development for employability. Young children trapped in an environment under serviced by educational resources and characterised poor social cohesion cannot reach their full potential. This study, undergirded by Bronfenbrenner's ecological model, sought to establish whether state-led early childhood development centres (ECDCs) in the Cape Flats can establish social cohesion and foster responsible citizenship and youth resilience. A qualitative study was conducted in selected ECDCs. Focus group interviews with caregivers of children from sampled centres and face-to-face interviews with the owners/managers of centres were augmented by an interview with an official from local government. The study concluded that the sampled ECDCs are merely coping, but restricted by various problems. They cannot function optimally as institutions for community development, although the community holds them in high esteem. Recommendations are made for improvements.

KEY TERMS: Early childhood development, early childhood development centres, family, social impact, violence, social cohesion, maltreatment, community and community development.

IQOQA

Uhlelo lwemfundo yaseNingizimu Afrika lunezingxaki. Izinkinga ezitholakala kwezemfundo zinomthelela othintana ngqo nezomnotho ngenxa yethonya ezinalo ekuthuthukisweni kwamakhono okuzokwenza abantu ukuba baqasheke. Izingane ezisezincane ezibiyelwe esibayeni esincishwa izimfanelo zezemfundo, ezingenakho nokubumbana okufanele komphakathi, ngeke zakufeza lokho ezinamandla okufinyelele kukho. Ucwangingo olususelwe esibonelweni sikaBronfenbrenner ngobudlelwane bomuntu nesizinda sakhe, lwaluhlose ukuthola ukuthi ngabe izikhungo eziholwa ngumbuso zokuthuthuka kwezingane ezincane (ama-ECDC) eCape Flats ziyakwazi yini ukugxilisa ukubumbana komphakathi, zikhulise kumuntu ukuba yisakhamuzi esiqotho nabasha abakwazi ukuqina bomelele. Kwenziwa ukuhlolisisa ezikhungweni zama-ECDC ezikhethiwe. Kwaba nokuxoxisana namaqembu aqokiwe abanakekeli bezingane zakulezo zikhungo ezikhethiwe, kwabuye kwaba nokuxoxa bukhoma nabanikazi/abaphathi bezikhungo, okwengezwa kukho nesikhulu esivela kuhulumeni wendawo. Lolu cwangingo lwafinyelela ekuthini izikhungo ezikhethiwe zama-ECDC zazipatanisa nje ngoba zazingqindwa yizinkinga ezahlukeneyo, okusho ukuthi zazingakwazi ukusebenza ngokuphelele njengezikhungo zokuthuthukisa umphakathi, noma umphakathi wona wawuzibabaza kakhulu. Kukhona nezincomo ngokungase kwenziwe ukuze isimo sibe ngcono.

AMATEMU ASEMQOKA: umphakathi, ukuthuthuka komphakathi, ukuthuthuka kwezingane ezisencane, izikhungo zokuthuthuka kwezingane ezisencane, umndeni, ukuphatha kabi, ukubumbana komphakathi, ukuthinteka komphakathi, udlame

ISICATSHULWA

Isimo senkqubo yemfundo yoMzantsi Afrika simandundu. Iingxaki ezikhoyo kwezemfundo ziluchaphazela ngqo uqoqosho ngenxa yokuba zinefuthe kuphuhliso lwezakhono ezilungiselela ukuqesheka komntu. Abantwana abaselula abakwazi ukuphuhla ngokugqibeleleyo kuba bavaleleke kwimeko yemfundo eneenkonzo ezingekho mgangathweni nakwisimo esingazinzanga somphakathi. Esi sifundo sisekelwe kwinkqubo kaBronfenbrenner yolwalamano lwezinto eziphilayo nendalo, kwaye sizama ukuqonda ukuba ingaba ukusekwa kwamaziko ophuhliso lwabantwana abancinci (*early childhood development centres- ECDCs*) eCape Flats kungadala uzinzo eluntwini, kukhuthaze ukuba ubani abe ngummi othatha uxanduva, ulutsha lungathabatheki lula kusini na. Uphando lomgangatho lwenziwe kumaziko iiECDCs ezikhethiweyo. Udliwano-ndlebe namaqela abantu abagcina abantwana kumaziko akhethiweyo kwanabaphathi baloo maziko luxhaswe ludliwano-ndlebe nesiphatha-mandla sorhulumente wendawo. Esi sifundo sifikelele kwisigqibo esithi ezi ECDCs zikhethiweyo ziyazama kodwa zikhonkxwa ziingxaki ezahlukeneyo, nto leyo ithetha ukuthi azikwazi ukusetyenziswa ngokupheleleyo njengamaziko ophuhliso lomphakathi nangona umphakathi wona uzixabise kakhulu. Kunikwe iingcebiso zokuphucula imeko.

AMAGAMA APHAMBILI: umphakathi, uphuhliso lomphakathi, uphuhliso lwabantwana abancinci, amaziko ophuhliso lwabantwana abancinci, usapho, ukuphathwa kakubi, ukuzinza koluntu, ifuthe kuluntu, ubundlobongela

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iii
ABSTRACT.....	iv
IQOQA.....	v
ISICATSHULWA.....	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xiii
LIST OF TABLES	xiii
CHAPTER ONE SITUATING THE RESEARCH PROBLEM.....	1
1.1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.2 THE RESEARCH PROBLEM	8
1.3 THE OBJECTIVES	9
1.4 THE SCOPE OF THE STUDY (DELIMITATION).....	10
1.5 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY	11
1.6 THE CHOSEN THEORETICAL APPROACH.....	12
1.7 THE CHOSEN METHODOLOGY	15
1.7.1 The potential value of the study	16
1.8 DEFINITIONS OF KEY TERMS	17
1.8.1 Community	17
1.8.2 Early Childhood Development (ECD) and Early Childhood Development Programmes (ECDPs).....	18
1.8.3 Family	18
1.8.4 Social cohesion	19
1.8.5 Responsible citizenship.....	20

1.9	LAYOUT OF THE DISSERTATION.....	21
1.10	CONCLUSION.....	21
CHAPTER TWO LITERATURE REVIEW		23
2.1	INTRODUCTION	23
2.1.1	The role of the community in the early childhood development of children 24	
2.1.2	The value of a family structure	25
2.1.3	Violence and crime and the impact on children	27
2.1.4	The physical environment	31
2.1.5	Values and moral development.....	33
2.1.6	The National Development Agency report.....	35
2.1.7	Literature on the impact of the environment	36
2.2	OVERVIEW OF ECD IN SOUTH AFRICA	37
2.2.1	Overview of ECD in Africa.....	38
2.3	ECD AS A FACTOR IN SOCIAL COHESION	39
2.3.1.	Introduction.....	39
2.3.2	Meaningful foundations for capabilities.....	41
2.3.3	Recognising and nurturing emergent skills, abilities and attitudes	41
2.3.4	Reducing inequalities created by social class, race, gender, etc.	41
2.3.5	Developing school readiness	42
2.3.6	Developmental functioning.....	42
2.4	ECD AND THE IMPACT ON THE ECONOMY	43
2.5	EARLY CHILDHOOD DEVELOPMENT POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA	43
2.6	CHALLENGES OF EARLY CHILDHOOD DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES 45	
2.7	THEORETICAL FOUNDATION OF THE STUDY	47
2.7.1	Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory.....	48
2.7.1.1	Microsystem.....	48

2.7.1.2	Mesosystem.....	49
2.7.1.3	Exosystem	50
2.7.1.4	Macrosystem	50
2.7.1.5	Chronosystem.....	51
2.7.2	Bronfenbrenner's Process-Person-Context-Time (PPCT) Model.....	51
2.7.2.1	Process	51
2.7.2.2	Person	52
2.7.2.3	Context	52
2.7.2.4	Time	52
2.7.3	Weikart's theory.....	53
2.8	CONCLUSION	56
CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY AND BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH SITE		57
3.1	INTRODUCTION	57
3.2	HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL COHESION IN THE CAPE FLATS.....	57
3.3	CHOSEN METHODOLOGY	63
3.4	FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEWS.....	64
3.5	POPULATION AND SAMPLE	65
3.5.1	Purposive sampling.....	65
3.5.2	Selected ECDCs area	66
3.6	DATA COLLECTION AND INSTRUMENTATION.....	70
3.6.1	Data collection	70
3.6.2	Secondary data collection	71
3.6.3	Advantages of interview data	71
3.6.4	The focus group discussions.....	72
3.6.5	The recruitment process.....	73
3.6.6	The focus group interviews	74

3.6.7 Face-to-face interviews with owners/ manager of selected ECDCs	75
3.6.8 Testing	76
3.7 DATA ANALYSIS	77
3.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS	77
3.8.1 Confidentiality	78
3.8.2 Informed consent.....	78
3.8.3 Avoidance of harm	79
3.8.4 Voluntary participation.....	79
3.9 THE ROLE OF THE RESEARCHER.....	80
3.10 CONCLUSION	80
CHAPTER FOUR ANALYSING THE COLLECTED DATA.....	82
4.1 INTRODUCTION	82
4.2 BACKGROUND TO THE SAMPLED ECDCs	82
4.2.1 ECDC One.....	83
4.2.2 ECDC Two.....	85
4.2.3 ECDC Three	86
4.2.4 ECDC Four	89
4.2.5 ECDC Five.....	91
4.3 RESULTS FROM THE FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS	92
4.3.1 Biographical details of the focus group participants	94
4.3.2 Engagement in the development of better ECDCs: data from the focus group discussions	95
4.3.3 Caregivers' understanding of the impact of the environment	97
4.4 RESULTS FROM THE INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS WITH ECDC MANAGERS.....	101
4.4.1 Introduction.....	101
4.4.2 Needs of ECD centres.....	102
4.4.2.1 Safety	103

4.4.2.2	Resources.....	105
4.4.2.3	Community and Parental Involvement	107
4.4.2.4	Training.....	108
4.4.2	Summary of the findings from the of focus group and personal interviews 110	
4.5	INTERVIEW WITH A LOCAL GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL	112
4.5.1	Introduction.....	112
4.5.2	Consultation with the community about ECDCs	114
4.5.3	ECDC and Community Development	118
4.6	COMMON THEMES EMERGING FROM ALL THREE PHASES OF DATA COLLECTION	120
4.6.1	The role of the caregivers	121
4.6.2	The lack of resources and the impact it has on the quality of ECD	122
4.6.3	The contributions of stakeholders to ECD	123
4.6.4	The impact of ECD programmes.....	124
4.7	PARTICIPANTS' OPINIONS OF CHANGES NEEDED IN ECD.....	125
4.7.1	Managers' opinions of the need for change in ECD	125
4.7.2	Caregivers' opinions of the need for change in ECD.....	126
4.7.3	The City of Cape Town official's opinion of the need for change in ECD 127	
4.8	CONCLUSION	128
	CHAPTER FIVE CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	130
5.1	INTRODUCTION	130
5.2	SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS	130
5.2.1	Poverty and social well-being.....	131
5.2.2	Children's exposed to violence	132
5.2.3	Environmental influences on child development.....	134
5.2.4	Early Childhood Development Centres	135

5.4	RECOMMENDATION FOR FUTURE RESEARCH	136
5.5	POLICY IMPLEMENTATION.....	137
5.6	LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY	138
5.6.1	Community uniqueness.....	138
5.6.2	Gender bias	139
5.7	FINAL REMARKS	139
	REFERENCES.....	141
	APPENDIX 1: Focus Group Questionnaire.....	161
	APPENDIX 2: Personal Interview Questionnaire with managers of ECD.....	162
	APPENDIX 3: Personal Interview Questionnaire with City of Cape Town official	
	163	
	APPENDIX 4: Informed Consent Form.....	164
	APPENDIX 5: Ethical Clearance Certificate	165

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1	Ubuntu Centre diagram	17
Figure 2.1	Metro North Education District	32
Figure 3.1	High risk areas of Cape Town	60
Figure 3.2	Ward 10	67
Figure 3.3	Ward 22	67
Figure 3.4	Ward 28	68
Figure 4.1	Photo of ECD One shows the playing area in front of the class	84
Figure 4.2	Photo of ECD One shows the size of the class	85
Figure 4.3	Photo of ECD Two shows a well-maintained centre although most of the playing equipment has been stolen	86
Figure 4.4	Photo of ECD Two shows the sparsely equipped playground of the centre	87
Figure 4.5	Photo of ECD Three shows how burglars accessed the building through the roof of the centre	88
Figure 4.6	Photo of ECDC Four's colourful play area	90
Figure 4.7	Photo of ECDC Five's fundraising event	91

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1	SAPS 2015/2016 Crime Statistics for Ravensmead & Elsies River	30
Table 2.2	Organisation principles: birth to age six	53
Table 3.1	Police statistics for the most unsafe areas in Cape Town 2004–2014	59
Table 4.1	Educational Toolkit	116
Table 4.2	The City of Cape Town's basic allocation template	117

CHAPTER ONE

SITUATING THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Sound social, economic and emotional development in early childhood can contribute to an individual's ability to successfully relate to others and ultimately to form socially cohesive communities (Shan, Muhajarine, Lopton & Jeffery, 2012). Communities are made up of individual members who may be part of family structures, religious groups, social and other types of groups. The success of these groupings *per se* and as normative, nurturing environments for children, play an important role in creating a community where people cooperate to survive and prosper.

Little is known about the ultimate window for intervention in the development of children to counteract the negative effect of their social environment on their attitudes, behaviour and decision-making. Children exposed to violence in their homes or community suffer symptoms such as irritability, sleep disturbances, emotional distress, separation anxiety, slow achievement of developmental goals and modelled violent behaviour (Johnson, Reichenberg, Bradshwa, Haynie & Cheng, 2016). Children's social support from the family, peer groups and the school environment can influence children's propensity for violence, gang involvement and substance abuse. In addition, youth empowerment can lead to positive developmental outcomes at the level of individuals, groups and the nation (Morton & Montgomery, 2011; South Africa. Office of the President, 2015). In an ideal world, all children will be born into family structures with parents able to provide for their basic economic, emotional, health and educational needs and into communities that support this.

The South African Constitution, like the United Nations (UN) *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (United Nations, 1989), guarantees that children of all ages have the right to survival, development, protection and participation. In South Africa, the *Children's*

Amendment Act 41 of 2007 (Republic of South Africa, 2007) aims to give effect to children's constitutional rights, in particular concerning matters of family, alternative and foster care, protection and early childhood development (ECD). In short, the *Children's Amendment Act 41 of 2007* aims to put the needs of children first in all matters (Berry, Jamieson & James, 2011). The *Children's Amendment Act 41 of 2007* also states that children's rights should not be limited to those which a family provides for, but extended to include rights regarding their environment as well as their development. This Act's focus on early childhood development is on par with the goals for education and care as articulated in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) to ensure primary and secondary education completion rates for all children (United Nations, 2015). This is based on an understanding that state investment in ECD implies securing building blocks for young children (birth to five years) for a better future for the child and for the nation (Dowd, Brorisova, Amente, & Yenew, 2016; Woden, 2016; Caceres, Tanner & Williams, 2016; Gove & Black, 2016). This understanding of ECD is also based on the assumption that all state departments and other stakeholders should work together in order to avoid the fragmentation of services rendered to children (Lockhat & Van Niekerk, 2000). For the country in particular, coordinated and sound ECD policies and programmes should also be directed at redressing the inequalities of apartheid where black, coloured and Asian children were under serviced as far as social welfare resources were concerned (Atmore, 2013).

The rights of the child should be incorporated into the ECD of children in the Cape Flats (where this study was conducted) especially their right to safety. The Cape Flats, an area comprising of the eastern part of the Northern and Southern suburbs of Cape Town which is made up of Black townships, Coloured ghettos and shantytowns (Niemand, 1967; SA History, 2011), is notorious for gang-related violence and high levels of poverty. The physical space in which ECD services are delivered should be safe, comfortable and secure. Early childhood is a time of unique learning and absorption which makes this a critical stage where the physical and emotional environment stimulate the child's development (Spies, 2011). Children have a right to move about without fear or harm, however, children in the Cape Flats stand a higher

risk of becoming victims of gang violence or abduction, abuse and death (Samsodien, 2008).

The reality is that South Africa is still plagued by its colonial and apartheid past and struggles to create an environment conducive to child-orientated settings and family structures, especially for black, coloured and Indian communities. These previously disenfranchised groups were subjugated to live in sub-human conditions. Resource allocation and lack of support services had a corrosive social impact on these communities.

Currently South Africa has a liberal constitution that highlights human rights and aims to protect the rights of everyone who lives within its borders. In addition, the goals set in the National Development Plan (NDP) foresee the creation of an environment of a “*virtuous cycle of growth and development*” for all South Africans to flourish socially in which communities will be able to sustain themselves economically (NPC, 2011). The following key points of the NDP (2013: 294) might help to bring about change in ECD:

- *“The South African education system needs urgent action.*
- *Building national capabilities requires quality early childhood development, basic education, further and higher education.*
- *Early childhood development should be broadly defined, taking into account all the development needs of a child, and provided to all children.*
- *The priorities in basic education are human capacity, school management, district support, infrastructure and results-oriented mutual accountability between schools and communities.*
- *Further Education and Training colleges, public adult learning centres, sector education and training authorities, professional colleges and Community Education and Training Centres are important elements of the post-school system that provide diverse learning opportunities.*

- *Further education should expand moderately, and as quality improves/expands rapidly, higher education should incorporate a range of different institutions that work together to serve different priorities, including effective regulatory and advisory institutions.*
- *Distance education, aided by advanced information communication technology, will play a greater role in expanding learning opportunities for different groups of learners and promote lifelong learning and continuous professional development.*
- *Private providers will continue to be important partners in the delivery of education and training at all levels.*
- *Research and innovation by universities, science councils, departments, NGOs and the private sector has a key role to play in improving South Africa's global competitiveness. Coordination between the different role-payers is important."*

These key points in the NDP are very important as they give hope to South Africa's next generation who are facing unemployment, poverty and human insecurity. Moreover, violent crime can have a devastating effect on communities like the Cape Flats. This is especially true for communities trapped in enclaves of deprivation due to geographical and socio-economic restrictions on social and geographical mobility (NDP, 2013). Thus, according to feedback from managers from the participating ECDC's in the post-apartheid landscape, some previously disadvantaged communities may have access to electricity and running water, but their other needs in terms of safety and community building interventions are neglected in favour of other communities where access to such basic resources are lacking. It is understandable, but at the same time, one would have thought that post-apartheid communities would flourish and grow in appreciation of a new democracy.

The researcher, as a person from a previously disadvantage background, born and raised on the Cape Flats, undertook this study to uncover knowledge that could

address such problems instead of blaming the state of affairs solely on the failing of government. The researcher looked at the issues from a vantage point that values a need for change in favour of human- and community-centred development.

South Africa has a multi-faceted history of overcoming colonialism as well as apartheid. Most of the inequality and struggles of disadvantage communities emanates from the history of the country. Mallaby (1992: ix) says about apartheid:

“It recognized four main racial categories: Africans, Whites, Coloureds, and Indians. ‘African’, meaning South Africans with black skin, is a misleading term since all South Africans are Africans. ‘Coloureds’ is an artificial term: it throws together mixed-race people as well as a variety of racial groups, ranging from the brown-skinned Khoikhoi and San people (Hottentots and Bushmen) to the descendants of Malay slaves brought to the Cape by Dutch settlers.”

It could be interpreted that racial classification created three different realities in South Africa, a white reality that came with privileges and opportunity, a coloured reality that had access to a few resources (although very limited) and a black reality that was deprived from even the most basic resources. Infrastructure in previously disadvantaged areas are not up to par as the apartheid government failed to allocate resources fairly to all communities. Previously, white communities received better resources and financial aid. This ensured better housing and infrastructure where coloured and black communities had dormitories and social housing units. The allocation of resources along racial classification epitomises the different realities in which South Africa’s societies were encapsulated. This political classification implies that children on the Cape Flats are historically disadvantaged.

Mallaby (1992) and Ward, van der Merwe and Dawes (2013) examined how colonialism played a pivotal role in migration and displacement. Tribes who were bound to the land by their ancestors were displaced in order to make way for Dutch farmers. In addition, as industrialisation encroached on agricultural land, people in

rural areas had to move to urban areas for work and housing. This added to the destabilisation of traditional and extended family units. All of these changes had a big impact on today's society and the development of children from different races.

Shapiro and Tebeau (2011:9) suggest that there is evidence that there is a “*clear failure on the part of government to significantly redress the extreme levels of poverty and inequality in South Africa*”. Unlike many other African countries, South Africa already has a fairly developed infrastructure and has a skilled work force. About 249 billion rand was spent on education by the South African government in 2013 to 2014 – of that, 32% was spent on pre-primary and primary education, 29% on secondary and post-secondary education, 24% on tertiary education, and the remaining 15% was not classified (StatsSA, 2015). The state thus spends about 15% of the total budget on education, which represents a higher proportional allocation than that of the United States, the United Kingdom and Germany (Cohen, 2017). Even though South Africa invests a great deal of the country's budget on education, changes to the curriculum and problems in implementing these has been causing a disjuncture between completing school and enrolling in tertiary education. Moreover, with the South African government failing to create positive economic growth, it is likely that the poor will remain the most affected and vulnerable in achieving the goals set by the NDP.

Clary and Rhodes (2006) see young people as resources to be developed, reflecting on this the researcher think it is important to remember that it all starts with the development of children in order to create a positive transition into adolescence and adulthood. The children born on the Cape Flats need food security, socio-psychological nurturing, education beyond the basics, a secure, safe and sustainable environment, and opportunities for participating in the economy and in their community when the time is right (Young, 1996). These are the basic building blocks for a child's development. If children do not find positive role models in their communities, they will emulate those with power and money and on the Cape Flats, these models may be gang members.

Urban development poses unique challenges, with areas such as the Cape Flats seemingly in a downward social spiral. With no clear plans for the social upliftment of children in the area, it would seem that any hope of establishing a stable, socially cohesive community in the near future is unlikely. For this study, in particular, the focus falls on the potential of ECD to contribute positively to the changes needed in the Cape Flats.

The goals of the City of Cape Town's Early Childhood Development Programme (ECDP) are to improve the quality of life of all people, with emphasis on the children of poor, marginalised families (City of Cape Town, 2013). The programme aims to enhance access to infrastructure and social services in order to better the lives of these people. More specifically, the programme aims to nurture responsible decision-making, resilience against gangs and nefarious neighbourhood influences, and to foster responsible citizenship. The ECDP encourages parents to enrol their children in ECD centres (ECDCs). These centres have to comply with legislation, yet many operate in people's backyards or garages and are not compliant. One of the purposes of ECDCs is to provide safe childcare whilst parents work or seek employment.

The dilemma is to discover how the local government can help these ECDCs to comply with legislation without forcing them to re-locate or to rent more suitable, yet expensive, accommodation. These ECDCs should also be able to employ qualified child minders who can assist with the physical and mental development of children in their care. How does an impoverished community invest in such a crucial necessity in order to ensure that the future generation has a better chance of developing, not only on a social level, but also on an educational and economic level? How can communities nurture their children in a safe and secure environment without solely relying on external intervention? Would the community's full participation in the ECDP ensure that it addresses their needs, and would such participation lead to ownership of the intervention by the community and therefore increased efficiency?

These questions outline the gap in knowledge that the study aimed to address. In other words, the need for ECD as supported by the government is obvious, yet the

implementation of the programme requires careful analysis to identify strengths and weaknesses.

In this first chapter, the researcher gives a background to the study, states the research problem, articulates the research objectives, describes the scope and limitations of the study, justifies the theoretical and methodological choices taken to meet the research objectives, describes the potential contribution of the study, defines some key concepts, and sets out the structure of the dissertation.

1.2 THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The central research question for the study was whether state-led early childhood development programmes (ECDPs) in selected communities of the Cape Flats are effective in their objectives to establish social cohesion and to foster responsible citizenship and youth resilience.

In order to answer this question, the researcher identified ECDPs already implemented (whether successful or unsuccessful) and looked at their impact in relation to their stated objectives. In addition, the following questions contoured the study:

- i. What was the government's undergirding frame of reference for these programmes? Which theoretical frameworks informed decision-making for these interventions?
- ii. What does the government deem as successes and failures in this regard? How does that compare with the views and perceptions of the community (beneficiaries)?
- iii. To what extent were communities consulted and involved in the development and implementation of these programmes?
- iv. Are resources and capacities optimally allocated to these programmes?

1.3 THE OBJECTIVES

The primary objective of the study was to identify and evaluate selected state-initiated ECDPs for children in the Cape Flats. To achieve the stated research objective, the researcher set out to discover from community members how they perceive their involvement in such programmes and whether they regard such interventions as beneficial. An important vantage point for this study was the community's perception of these interventions, their ability to identify their own needs in this regard, and to accept their role in developing and changing their communities for the better.

It was not the intention of the researcher to lament perceived failures of government to address social cohesion and youth empowerment in the Cape Flats. Instead, the researcher sought to document the unique vulnerability of this community. Such vulnerabilities includes socio-economic and institutional factors and how these relate to the effectiveness of ECD intervention programmes.

The secondary objectives were to:

- Explore ECD as part of community development aimed at building youth resilience and fostering social cohesion in impoverished communities nationally and in other countries;
- Examine the City of Cape Town's ECDP in terms of (1) the government's undergirding frame of reference for the programmes; (2) the theoretical frameworks that informed decision-making for these interventions; (3) the government's targets on measuring successes in this regard; (4) the value placed on community consultation, involvement and participation in the development and implementation of these programmes; and (5) the allocation of resources and capacities in the programme;
- Evaluate what the community know, feel, think and do about community development in general and about the ECDP in particular (for the latter their involvement and participation and their perceptions of the allocation of resources and capacities in the programme in order to compare it with the

state's view of this);

- Explore the perceived impact of the ECDP on the community;
- Uncover the community's perceived ability to identify their own needs with regard to ECD;
- Identify and evaluate shortcomings in the programme; and
- Explore alternative ways of delivering the programme to the relevant communities and to formulate recommendations in this regard.

1.4 THE SCOPE OF THE STUDY (DELIMITATION)

With this study, the researcher sought to contribute to the understanding of how a participatory approach can assist all stakeholders in ensuring that ECDCs are equipped with the relevant skills and regulatory measures to have a positive impact on the development of a child. Data was collected through focus group interviews comprised of parents of children in registered and unregistered ECDCs. The importance of interviewing parents from both registered and unregistered centres is to identify if there are discrepancies in the learning and caring programmes.

The researcher also explored how bureaucracy affects working solutions for affordable, quality ECDCs. To do so, the researcher interviewed heads of selected ECDCs to understand their perceptions of the reasons for establishing their centre, the constraints and restrictions experienced, and red tape that hamper unregistered centres from going through the process of registration. It was important to interview the heads of ECDCs before interviewing local government officials to uncover common issues regarding ECDCs in the Cape Flats.

The parameters for the study were therefore set to a selected, limited number of ECDCs, parents who send their children to these centres, heads of these centres and officials implementing the City of Cape Town's ECDP. The Cape Flats was deliberately chosen because of its traumatised community.

1.5 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Seekings and Nattrass (2011: 24) say that in South Africa *“income poverty worsened in the late 1990s, although precise findings vary according to specific data used”*. General expectations that this would improve post 1994 were very high. Democracy brought about hope for a better future. Communities on the Cape Flats, however, have been marginalised by apartheid and poverty for many years before democracy. After 1994, these communities have continued to be traumatised by poverty, unemployment, drug abuse and gang activities. These social ills might overshadow concerns for ECD – especially for parents desperate to find a place to drop off a child in order to go to work. Parents might regard it the responsibility of government officials and politicians to ensure proper infrastructure to create a safe and prosperous environment for children to develop. Given the socio-economic trauma suffered by communities on the Cape Flats, many are apprehensive about government involvement in establishing community safety as the current government has not shown any improvement on safety issues post 1994 and the community feel it is the responsibility of government to provide safety (Seekings & Nattrass 2011).

A concern in this regard is whether the participants will be reluctant to reveal too much or to participate freely if they feel that research, or their participation in research, will result in little action. The researcher reassured all participants of the confidentiality of their responses and noted that the results of the study will be shared with them for their use to further their efforts regarding improved ECDCs. Nevertheless, the researcher found that the participants were rather reluctant to participate. Upon probing the matter, some participants revealed that people might be afraid of appearing ignorant, uneducated or uninterested in ECD as part of their children's rights. These fears regarding participation in ECD were also observed in the researcher's interaction with the ECDC managers. The managers informed the researcher that it is difficult to get parents to participate, even if it is to the advantage of their children. In their experience, only a small group of caregivers or parents were

willing to volunteer for related tasks; some parents or caregivers would hardly ever be persuaded to get involved.

The researcher found that it was difficult to establish free participation by all participants in the focus group interviews; some participants were reluctant to express their opinions. Their lack of trust in the government and their views that the government did not care about the people of the Cape Flats were recurrently stated. They also mentioned poor government performance in ensuring safe spaces for children. The researcher thus encountered a wall of distrust between the community and outsiders.

This prompted the researcher to make informal visits to the sites and have casual conversations with the managers in order to gain their trust before arranging any formal interviews.

Given the purposive sampling decisions, there is a limitation on the generalisability of the results. However, the researcher was able to draw conclusions from the study within specific boundaries. The study was limited and restricted by its qualitative research approach and rather provided a subjective way to understand the chosen social phenomenon (Henning *et al.* 2004: 3). However, it enabled a personalised, unrestricted method of investigation and participation. The researcher has a personal interest in the subject owing to her ties with the communities of the Cape Flats and her interest in understanding why these communities are slowly disintegrating instead of thriving.

1.6 THE CHOSEN THEORETICAL APPROACH

Given the research problem, Bronfenbrenner's (1998) ecological theory was selected, because it focuses on the individual as well as on the environment. It identifies how the environment and health, educational, food, and economic systems influence the wellbeing and positive development of children and communities. Bronfenbrenner's

microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem, and chronosystem offer a framework to understand child development as impacted by his/her environment. These systems can be seen as layers of influence that make impressions on the child. The microsystem stems from the child's own perception of right and wrong as instilled by parents and the extended family, while the mesosystem is when parents interact with the child's teacher. The exosystem shapes the child's wellbeing through the parents' income, social position, and the impact of the resources at their disposal. The broader society of culture, customs and laws are the outer layer of systems called the macrosystem. The chronosystem refers to periods of time and the external environment.

Different situations at different stages of the child's life have an impact on the development of the child. These theoretical ideas are further explored in Chapter Two.

In this study, children are regarded as active agents in their own development. This implies that an environment conducive to safe child development is also seen as key. Children learn behaviour from their environment through interpretation, assessment and copying. Thus, normalising or accepting violence in various forms will perpetuate it since social norms are transmitted between generations (Ward, van der Merwe & Dawes, 2012). Moreover, children can become desensitised to violence due to their day-to-day exposure to such behaviour. This is especially the case in the Cape Flats where witnessing gang violence, illegal drug and alcohol abuse, living in dysfunctional families, and suffering the effects of protracted unemployment and poverty affect the human security of children and their families (Standing, 2006).

Family support for children and their safe development has an impact on the child's academic progress as well. Children in good ECDCs are likely to progress better in pre-primary and primary schools and have an advantage over children who do not have access to formal early childhood care programmes. This will affect the rest of the child's education and may improve primary and secondary educational completion rates. Family involvement is the cornerstone of a child's development and more

recognition and support should be given to families especially in poorer communities (Bronfenbrenner, 1998).

The neighbourhood environment plays an integral role in child development (Downs, 1981; Senefeld & Perrin, 2013; Ungar, Gazinor & Richter, 2013). The negative environment crafted by apartheid is creating a negative future for the country, because communities are trapped in cycles of poverty, and criminal and substance abuse, which are typical of the communities on the Cape Flats. Moreover, the social environment of children has an impact on how they perceive what their role in society should be (Evans, Garner & Honig, 2014; Jenkins, 2008). The environment can be a catalyst to a child's reality in which he/she can only see one reality for him/herself.

De Beer and Swanepoel (2000) found that authorities tend to have a top-down approach to interventions that allow little room for community workers and community participation in its fullest sense. Although authorities must devise and implement policies and programmes to improve the quality of life of all people, community buy-in and participation is of the utmost importance. Community development should thus be about finding a way that works for everyone involved (Westoby & Dowling, 2013; Westoby & Shevellar, 2012). This means that inclusive or consultative policy development and implementation are essential for effective childhood development.

State intervention through the ECDP has the potential of future economic rewards for individuals as well as for local government and society (Jenkins, 2014). With an investment in ECDPs, a decrease in school dropouts is possible. This, in turn, may reduce the poverty rate of adults as well as criminal rates in communities. The return on investment is much higher for disadvantaged children who, through ECDPs, are able to perform better in primary school and secondary schools (Jenkins, 2014). The investment in quality ECDs and the training of qualified caregivers creates entrepreneurial opportunities. This in turn, offers opportunities to create better neighbourhoods. This then places less of a burden on local government and ultimately on provincial and national government. State-funded programmes with the help of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and Non-Profit Organisations (NPOs) can

have a significant impact in this regard. The benefit of quality ECDCs also extends to enabling parents to seek employment and to provide in their children's nutritional needs, which in turn encourages improved performance in school (Albon & Mukherji, 2008; Evans, *et al.*, 2014; Jenkins, 2008 & 2014).

Most governments have realised the need for ECD policies that focus on health, nutrition, education, care and parent support. It is evident in communities of the Cape Flats that survival has become a priority and that little attention was given to the development of children. Therefore, it is important to take into consideration the social history as well as the cultural history of communities. The relevance of people and their lived experiences have to be taken into consideration when it comes to formulating policies (Lockhat & van Niekerk, 2000; Lazarus, Baptiste & Seedat, 2009).

Communities are in their nature unique and differ culturally, demographically as well as socially.

1.7 THE CHOSEN METHODOLOGY

The researcher followed a descriptive, evaluative and qualitative approach. This was chosen for its flexibility, adaptability and in-depth character. To gain a sound understanding of the role ECDCs play in child resilience, a literature review was conducted to identify what previous research had uncovered. The primary data gathering was through interviews conducted with parents of children in formal day-care centres and informal day-care centres in order to gain an in-depth understanding of participants' feelings, perceptions and experiences regarding the ECD policies. In addition, heads of centres and officials in the City of Cape Town tasked with the ECD intervention were interviewed.

1.7.1 The potential value of the study

To understand how ECD can have a positive impact on a community, Young (2002: 2) suggests that “*Children must prosper before economies can grow*”. The Western Cape has an unemployment rate of 26.6% according to Statistics South Africa (2016: 9). This means it is very important for South Africa to produce an educated and skilled labour force and ECD can help address this.

The Ubuntu Centre in Port Elizabeth has an excellent model of sustainability (Ubuntu Pathways, 2016). Even though this model is designed as an orphanage, it is a valuable model for developing a sustainable ECD. Figure 1.1 demonstrates the factors that underlie the model. It is included here as a practical example of the theoretical principles undergirding ECD as a strategy to compensate for an environment that is not conducive to the optimal development of children.

The Ubuntu model works from three premises – namely, health, education, and household stability – which form a framework for sustainability. The Ubuntu Centre believes that it is important to create a safe space for children to learn, which starts with stability at home (Ubuntu Pathways, 2016). If a child's education is hampered by an unsafe household environment and health-related concerns – for example, a parent or caregiver is living with HIV/AIDS or tuberculosis; or a child is affected by a disease or malnutrition – further educational and employment opportunities are also negatively impacted.

Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems model of human development matches the holistic notions of Ubuntu in that it moves, from an individualistic (micro) focus on the traits that people may have, to a complex, interactive understanding of people and their social environment as reciprocal processes (Bronfenbrenner, 1989). Moreover, Ubuntu, although not always easily translatable into Western discourse, signifies values of solidarity, consideration, respect, dignity, and harmony.

The purpose of the research is to ascertain how the community and caregivers understand their role in the development of children and how their understanding will influence the outcome of the link between positive early childhood development and failing to establish a solid foundation for development. The benefit of a community that works together to reach a child-centred community development approach, is that it should create a sustainable environment so that communities would benefit in future generations (Murphy, 2003).



Figure 1.1. The Ubuntu Centre diagram.

Source: Ubuntu Pathways, 2016

1.8 DEFINITIONS OF KEY TERMS

1.8.1 Community

Community is defined by the Oxford Thesaurus (2006) as “a group of people living in the same place or having a particular characteristic in common” while the Organization

for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) terms a community as “‘people from the same neighbourhood’ in a narrow sense or ‘the whole community including NGOs’ in the broader sense” (OECD, n.d.). In apartheid South Africa, the Groups Area Act of 1950 saw the forceful removal of certain groups from their land and their relocation to designated areas. The result was the social and spatial isolation of disenfranchised groups into residential areas marked by poverty, inadequate infrastructure and despair (Bond, Dor & Ruiters, 2010). It created conducive conditions for alcohol and drug abuse and gangs. Things have not changed much for the communities of the Cape Flats in a democratic South Africa; twenty-one years later, these communities are almost socially bankrupt.

1.8.2 Early Childhood Development (ECD) and Early Childhood Development Programmes (ECDPs)

The Children’s Amendment Act (Act No. 41, 2007) defines Early Childhood Development (ECD) in Section 91 as “*the process of emotional, cognitive, sensory, spiritual, moral, physical, and social and communication development of children from birth to school-going age.*” An ECDP is a programme structured within an ECD service intended to provide learning and support appropriate to the child’s development age and stage (Government Gazette, 2008: 28). These programmes should also address barriers to learning (Landsberg, Kruger & Nel, 2005).

1.8.3 Family

The Oxford Dictionary (1996:166) defines family as “*parents and their children, sometimes including grandchildren and other relations. Group of things that are alike sometimes in some way.*”. The Collins English Dictionary (2009:212) defines family as a “*Group of parents and their children, one’s spouse and children, group descended from a common ancestor, group of related objects or beings.*”.

Sussman, Steinmetz and Peterson (1999) mention that the construct of family has deviated over time in relation to the sequence in which it was historically conformed, first marriage than children, now it has to do with choices. Parents might choose to have children first and then consider whether to get married or not; that is why there are presently more single parent households than before.

A family can also be a foster family; this is in the absence of biological relatives or in the case where a child is removed from the biological family for safety reasons and placed with a family that has been “*been trained and licensed to take care of the child*” (Scannapieco & Connell-Carrick, 2005:91).

Foster care in communities in the Cape Flats can be informal arrangements in which a willing neighbour or friend who is able to do so, takes care of a child for an arranged period. The researcher and her siblings were raised in several ‘families’ on the Cape Flats; some of these families were made up of blood relatives, others were friends or even lesser-known community members, especially after their mother’s death. Notwithstanding, being fostered in different families can be a traumatic experience, yet the community can and do play a role in such cases to help teach children social values.

1.8.4 Social cohesion

The South African Department of Arts and Culture (2017: 2) defines social cohesion as “*the degree of social integration and inclusion in communities and society at large, and the extent to which mutual solidarity finds expression among individuals and communities.*” Successful social cohesion relies on the value placed on every community, and the investments made in creating communities that are safe and nurturing. In this study, the researcher regards the benefits of quality ECDCs as extending beyond increasing the child’s further education and income-earning potential also to compensate for the damaging effect of poor living environments,

malnutrition and violence. In other words, social cohesion is possible if intergenerational cycles of deprivation can be broken (Jamieson & Lake, 2017).

1.8.5 Responsible citizenship

Citizenship is defined by the Oxford Dictionary (2002: 210) as “1) *a legally recognized subject or national of a state or commonwealth*; 2) *an inhabitant of a town or city*”. Every community member therefore has a responsibility towards their own community if they deem themselves as an inhabitant of the town. Because responsible citizenship plays an important role in the social identity of a country, it can also be an important factor in civic awareness and in fostering social and economic stability. A responsible citizen would be able to invest time, skills and resources into a community.

The *South African Child Gauge* (Jamieson & Lake, 2017), *Peace-building through Early Childhood Development: A guidance note* (Chopra, 2014) and the *South African Early Childhood Review* (SA ECR) (Hall, Sambu, Berry, Giese & Almeleh, 2017) papers all make reference to the importance of supporting caregivers in order to help children to develop into responsible adults and responsible citizens. The importance of collaborations between government departments, on one hand, and civil society and communities is emphasised in the SA ECR and is also highlighted in the other two publications by Jamieson and Lake (2017) and Hall *et al.* (2017). The guidance note on peace-building through ECD (Chopra, 2014) states that a caring environment is important for child development and that is why it is important to target caregivers in communities. Children exposed to violence at a young age, on the other hand, would have difficulties in achieving their full potential. In this regard Peace-building through ECD (Chopra 2014: 13) suggests that “*Although families can provide opportunities for responsive, stimulating and nurturing caregivers, they can also perpetuate divisive ideologies*”. To integrate ECD into peace-building initiatives, programmes have to include: creating opportunities for play; creating healthy group identities; creating opportunities for reflection in the home and family environment as well as making sure that children exposed to the media receive positive non-violence stimulation; and targeting parenting programmes in order to reach marginalised groups, which would

encourage responsible community action (Anderson, Huston, Schmitt, Linebarger & Larson, 2002).

1.9 LAYOUT OF THE DISSERTATION

Chapter 1 – Situating the Research Problem: the researcher describes the background to the research problem, the research problem, the objectives, scope of the study, limitations of the study, the chosen theoretical approach and methodology. In addition, the potential value of the study is discussed and some key terms are defined.

Chapter 2 – A Literature Review of Early Childhood Development: this is a review of literature that includes an overview of ECDPs in South Africa, ECDCs as factors in social cohesion and the theoretical foundation of the study.

Chapter 3 – Data Collection: the researcher describes the methodology, research design, chosen research site, sampling methods, methods for data generation and methods for data analysis. The ethical considerations of the study are analysed.

Chapter 4 – Analysing the Collected Data: the data generated by the methodology are analysed and detail findings are presented.

Chapter 5 – Findings of The Research: this is the summary of the findings according to the stated primary and objectives of the study. Recommendations for policy and further research are given.

1.10 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the researcher established that there is a relationship between ECD and the impact it has on a sustainable future for community members in the Cape

Flats area. Investment in ECD and education could bring about social change in communities. The researcher argued that by conducting a qualitative, descriptive study based on the understanding and feelings of parents and guardians of children in a sample population of ECDCs in the Cape Flats area, it would allow her to better understand the feelings and level of understanding of ECDs by the community participants. The interviews with the parents were heartfelt and gave an honest look into their world.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

By reviewing the history of the phenomenon under investigation in this chapter, the researcher wishes to show the relevance of the research focus and objectives. In a young democracy like South Africa, citizens expect that things will change for the better for all. In 2015, tertiary education became unaffordable for working and middle class students. Cloete (2016) in this regard comments:

“South Africa desperately needs strong tertiary education institutions. It is one of the most unequal societies in the world and its economy isn’t growing. Higher education is a social mobility mechanism. In recent submission to the Fees Commission, I argued that poor and middle class South Africans see higher education, and particularly universities, as the only ladder into the affluent middle class. Their perception is correct. The World Bank has found that South Africa has the highest private return to tertiary education – that means that getting a degree is a passport to employment. And Van den Berg has found that graduates are three to five times more likely than a school leaver to find a job. Maintaining and building strong universities needs a combination of two things: better government funding and fee income with affordability funding support for the poor and the lower middle class”.

The mobilisation around lower fees and calls for free education from 2015, 2016 and 2017 prompted the government and the ruling African National Congress (ANC) party to consider the needs of the poorest students and the ‘missing middle’ – those students who are too affluent to qualify for student aid, but who cannot afford to go to university. These events seem to suggest that the ‘Born free generation’ (a term describing children born after 1994 and therefore free from apartheid) value education as a basic

human right. These children have had little opportunity in terms of Early Childhood Development (ECD) due to the lack of infrastructure or focus on education and would most likely have experienced interrupted primary or secondary education as well.

The focus on education is identified as one of the objectives of the National Integrated Early Childhood Development Policy 2015 (Gove & Black, 2016). Children spend between six to seven hours at school which means schooling can have a positive influence on a child's life according to Bernat (2009). The crisis in education makes it difficult for the country to secure skilled labourers able to grow its economy (Spaull, 2013; Business Tech, 2015).

2.1.1 The role of the community in the early childhood development of children

Even before a curriculum or early childhood programme can be designed, it is important to take into consideration the background of a child and how this can have an impact on the design of child development programmes. With the countless cases of teenage pregnancies and drug abuse in the Cape Flats, the family unity plays a key role in addressing the child's development (Maderthander, 2005; Breidlid, Cheyeka & Farag, 2015; Ramson & Chetty, 2016). Children exposed to daily substance abuse have been born into an unstable and volatile environment.

One of the primary objectives of the study is to uncover the community's perceived ability to identify their own needs with regard to early childhood development. There should be a common goal in the community to create a caring environment for children. Bronfenbrenner's *Ecological Systems Theory* (1989) is a clear model of how not only the family and school, but also the community is responsible for the development of children. De Beer and Swanepoel (2011: 11) state that communities should be "*released from poverty not relieved*". They argue that after they have been helped and their plight from poverty has been relieved, poverty will return for a while.

One can agree that it is important to understand what the needs of the community are and make them realise that they have the power to change their reality. It does not matter if their reality is poverty, violence or substance abuse, what is difficult is to re-organise communities that have been destroyed by gangs (Barbier, 2010; Daniels & Adams, 2010; Van Ham, Maley, MacLennan, Bailey & Simpson, 2012). Interventions should be sustainable and should empower communities to take back ownership of their safety and dignity. It is likely that communities plagued by violence in the Cape Flats would need community counselling in order to re-organise themselves (Lazarus, *et al.*, 2009).

2.1.2 The value of a family structure

September, Rich and Roman (2016) show how socio-economic status influences parenting knowledge and styles. The interaction between parent and child is determined by the parenting style. September *et al.* (2016) state that parents belonging to a low socio-economic status tend to be harsher in raising their children. Such parents may be unable to prioritise gentler social engagements with their children as it is already difficult to provide for their children's basic needs. For example, a teenage mother who is still approaching adulthood, and who may be in an abusive relationship, may lack the ability to be an optimal caregiver for her child in terms of social skills.

Most of the children in the Cape Flats have absent fathers and find themselves in single parent households or are not even raised by any of their biological parents. In such situations, other social agents besides the parents will have to equip children with the social and other skills that will prevent them from falling into a cycle of poverty (Ntshongwana, 2010; Pattnaik, 2012). Children require interaction on a regular basis over a period of time for the development of a strong emotional and mutual attachment (Bronfenbrenner, 1989). In many cases in the Cape Flats, grandparents play this role. They are forced to assume the role of primary caregivers when mothers are still teenagers or are addicted to drugs and exposed to violence on a regular basis. This is how the cycle of violence is learned and passed on from one generation to another

(Bateman, 2015; September *et al.*, 2016; Van Ham, Maley, MacLennan, Bailey & Simpson, 2012).

Ward *et al.* (2013: 142) state that “*in the first instance, caregivers provide for the child’s basic needs in terms of provision and protection*”. Conventionally, these roles are associated with the family unit. It is very difficult to define family as expressed by Chibucos (2005: 8) “*Family last longer, are intergenerational, contain both biological and “affinal” (e.g., legal, common law relationships, and are part of a larger kinship network. Families are a particular kind of social group; but the distinctiveness of family groups tends to be only a matter of degree.*” Therefore, the question might remain: what is family? Most researchers are reluctant to define family due to different cultural, racial or social perspectives. For this study, the researcher chose to refer to the domestic environment of children to avoid definitions that are biased towards Western conceptions of a core family. With the domestic environment, the home environment that provides the care for children is implied. In this regard Chibucos (2005), Rotenberg (2010) and Hurrelman and Engel (1989) all point out that the bonds created in the domestic environment during early childhood lays the foundation for children’s ability to adapt to their social environment and to develop interpersonal trust. This means that family is an important factor in early childhood development as family provides the basis of the developing child’s personality traits, the child’s understanding of its relationship to others and his/her environment.

Modernisation and industrialisation heralded in an era in which the early care of children outside of their immediate domestic environments became a new reality. This meant that different stages of development became important as measurable attainments. Domestic arrangements in the Cape Flats see the dominance of mother-only households. Women are the main caregivers of children and assume the primary role of parenting and they are more knowledgeable about child rearing (Coleman, 2013; September *et al.*, 2016)

Cooper (as cited by Lockhat & Van Niekerk, 2000: 294) states that “*a systemic arsenal of apartheid laws mitigated strongly against black children having a normal family life*”.

The ghettos created by the apartheid government were mostly overcrowded, under-serviced, poverty-stricken and crime-ridden and had a negative impact on parent-child relationships (Lockhat & Van Niekerk, 2000: 291). Bateman (2015: 171) states that *“The experts at both institutions agree that poverty and the widespread, tragic absence of the most effective risk-mitigating factors possible – one or both of a child’s biological parents – render the 8% of SA’s children living in informal urban areas highly vulnerable as they roam danger-filled environments, many bordered by highways, train routes or bodies of water”*.

Children raised by warm, responsive, consistent parents are more likely to develop optimally than children raised by applying harsh, dysfunctional and punitive discipline methods. The participants in the study by Grinden and Botha (as cited in Breidlid *et al.*, 2015) were all single mothers who had to deal with the trauma of children ensnared in gang activities. In September 2007, Ellen Pakkies strangled her “Tik”-addicted son (Tik is the street name for a crystal methamphetamine drug) after suffering years of abuse at his hand (Samodien, 2008). Ramson and Chetty (2016) state that dysfunctional families are one of the reasons for gang activities and drug abuse. Children who do not have a strongly-rooted family structure are more vulnerable to experimenting with drugs and to involve themselves with gangs (Ramson & Chetty 2016). Ramsom and Chetty (2016: 79) conclude that *“the data suggests that family conflict, parental neglect, and lack of home management are strong factors increasing the risk of illicit drug use.”* This confirms that a dysfunctional home environment increases a child’s inclination to seek an environment where he or she is accepted and valued.

2.1.3 Violence and crime and the impact on children

The problems of ECD in the Cape Flats, however, extend beyond the lack of state funding, poverty and poor infrastructure, to include concerns about communities marred by violence. On Wednesday, 9 August 2017, a nine-year-old boy was fatally wounded when he was struck by a bullet due to gang violence in the Cape Flats (Spies, 2017). This is not an isolated case. Many children living in the Cape Flats live with the risk of becoming the victim of a random shooting. The body of a little girl, Courtney

Pieters, was found on 13 May 2017 nine days after she went missing from her house in Elsies River. She had been murdered and raped by a person known to the family (Mortlock, 2017). There are many other young children who suffer at the hands of adults in their communities. Many of the poor turn to criminality to survive as a result of the unequal distribution of wealth in South Africa due to its Apartheid legacy, a malfunctioning government, and corruption (Breidlid *et al.*, 2015: 163).

Organised crime in the Cape Flats does not only destroy those communities in which it thrives, but it has an impact on good governance (Lambrechts, 2012). Due to the high rate of unemployment, there are many “shebeens” in the Cape Flats, colloquially known as a “smokkelhuis” (a house where liquor is sold illegally). Young mothers frequent these places with their children and drink or do drugs in the presence of their children. This behaviour would be in contrast to Bronfenbrenner's (1989) microsystems concept in as far as it specifically describes the pivotal role of interpersonal relationships in personal development. If exposed to negative behaviour, the child will grow up thinking it is acceptable behaviour.

Previous studies looked at gang formation born out of criminality, but it should rather be understood from its origin within an historical, political and cultural context (Daniels & Adams, 2010). Many individuals in communities of the Cape Flats, who have been traumatised by their environment and who have little to no hope of escaping this space, are attracted to a life of crime.

The occurrence of gang activities in the Cape Flats is socially and culturally very complex. Much research has been done on gang-related crime and violence in the Cape Flats. This shows that most of this behaviour can be traced back to the forcible removal of Coloured communities during the implementation of the Group Areas Act in the 1960s. The then-ruling government forced families from different communities in central and wider Cape Town to relocate to the Apartheid-designed, Coloured-Only designated area of the Cape Flats, putting different social community members all in one place (Daniel & Adams, 2010; Ward, et al., 2013). The socio-economic crisis gave rise to gangs in the community to stake a claim to their criminal empires. Gangs arose

due to a need for staking a territorial boundary to protect their community. However, gangs represent violence and this creates environments of fear and trauma (Bernat, 2009; Evans, *et al.*, 2014; Loxton, 2009).

Trauma can be destructive to individuals and communities that are not strong enough to deal with it. Fear creates a paralysis to deal with the violence in the community. Berger (2011) states that fear emerges at about 9 months old, which means even young children can experience fear when exposed to anxiety-inducing violence on a regular basis. It is not hard to understand why the violence in the Cape Flats communities shape the moral values of children and make them more vulnerable to be drawn into gang activities (Gibbs, 2014; Nichols & Folds-Bennet, 2003).

Violence can leave both visible and invisible scars on individuals and communities. Historically, these communities marginalised and banished to the barren Cape Flats with little formal infrastructure, where these gangs originated, and this trapped communities in violent behaviour which, unfortunately, has become the norm (Bateman, 2015). Countless media reports remind us of how vulnerable young children in the Cape Flats are. Children are not safe in the confines of their own communities, the very place where they have to build social networks and imitate mentors. The tragedy of violence in the Cape Flats is that it has been shaping the identity of children to such an extent that the scars transfer between generations and enmesh in community networks (Gilchrist, 2004; Gilchrist, 2011).

Children who witness violence for prolonged periods need to deal with the stress that this causes (Evans, *et al.*, 2014). It does not mean, however, that these children may not be subjected to any form of discipline. Instead it means that ECDCs can and must create a positive environment to apply positive discipline (Berry, *et al.*, 2011).

When considering the environment for ECD, one has to take the physical environment where the ECDC is located into account and the child's domestic environment, neighbourhood and wider social environment. An "ecological perspective"

(Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006) on this would link ECD and domestic life to the child's socio-psychological attributes (for example personality, gender, age and race), contextual environment (for example whether the child is from a single parent or dual-earner family) and socio-historical location. In this regard, it should be noted that children's communities in the designated research areas like Uitsig and Ravensmead, which were previously disadvantage communities, for example, show the highest rates of re-infection with Tuberculosis (Desmond Tutu HIV Foundation, 2016; Den Boon, Van Lill, Borgdorff, Enarson, Verver, Bateman, Irusen, Lombard, White, De Villiers & Beyers, 2014). The risk of children being exposed to the disease is very high and being infected or affected by the disease when parents have contracted the disease and are unable to earn a living to support the child financially continue the cycle of poverty (September *et al.*, 2016). This can have an impact on the child's development since these children face insecure lives fraught with disease and malnutrition. When these children enter the pre-school or school environment educators would need to model empathy, compassion and an eagerness to engage with these children in their care without stigmatizing them.

In the Cape Flats, children have to adapt to an environment of violence and fear. Children may be confined to their homes for fear of their personal safety. This means that children have little playtime outside the home (Bateman, 2015). Caregivers live in constant fear that children might be caught in the cross-fire of gang violence (Daniels & Adams, 2010; Isaacs, 2017). The South African Police Service (SAPS) 2015/2016 crime statistics released online for Ravensmead (Uitsig falls under the Ravensmead SAPS area) and Elsies River are as follows:

Table 2.1 SAPS 2015/2016 Crime Statistics for Ravensmead & Elsie's River

Crime description	Ravensmead	Elsie's River
Murder	43	58
Attempted murders	71	163
Assault with the intent to do grievously harm	55	316
Common assault	436	619
Illegal possession of firearms and ammunition	57	83
Drug related crimes	1431	1497

Source: Crime Stats SA, 2016

In April 2017 BusinessTech announced that Cape Town is South Africa's most violent city – and is among the top 13 most violent cities in the world. Psychologically this has to have a negative impact on the child's development and their caregiver's aspirations of giving their children a prosperous future (Berger, 2011; September *et al.*, 2016). It is therefore, important to look at what relationships have an influence on the child's development.

2.1.4 The physical environment

The psychological impact of a child's physical environment is a matter that requires further investigation. Bijou (1978:107) states "*Other philosophers, such as Rousseau, held that a child is born morally good and pure and that immoral behaviour results from his contact with corruptive adults: hence, it was essential that adult moral influence be minimized, especially in the early years.*" This implies that when a child is afforded the opportunity to develop in a secure environment without insurmountable socio-economic stresses, her or his development will be positive.

Blasco (2001: 174) suggests that "*From a practical standpoint there are three critical factors in determining whether a child care situation is going to be a positive social*

and emotional experience for a child: (1) daily transitions of departing and reuniting, (2) the quality of the child's emotional experiences in the course of the day, and (3) the quality of the parent's relationship with the caregiver". Part of a quality childcare environment is the physical layout of the childcare centre. The indoor and outdoor layouts of the facility are important factors for physical and emotional development. Children must feel safe in the environment and be able to play openly and freely with other children in order to create a social bond. The lack of outdoor facilities in poor communities prevents children from improving their sensorimotor skills. The outdoor environment should encourage exploration by providing access to interesting materials and equipment. The importance of an effective and predictable schedule is critical for a smooth transition in early childhood development (Starting Strong II, 2006).

The focus of this study is on ECDCs listed in the Western Cape Education Department (WCED) database and that may or may not be registered with the City of Cape Town's Social Development and Early Childhood Development Directorate. At the time of data collection, the WCED had only two registered ECDCs in the City's database, although on the list that was supplied by the City of Cape Town's Social Development Department, the suburb of Ravensmead has 10 centres and Elsies River has 28, but no centres are listed for Uitsig as one of the centres which is part of the sample is listed under Elsies River. This could be due to the demarcation of the suburbs and wards as the centres in Ravensmead are in Tygerberg District 5, Ward 10 Sub-Council 6 and the centres in Elsies River are in Tygerberg District 2, Ward 2 Sub-Council 4 as per the City of Cape Town's Municipal Demarcation Board. With 38 ECDCs in this area, a greater number of children can be developed and prepared for pre-primary schooling in a more formal way.

As can be seen in Figure 2.1 (below), the WCED Metro North has a very large geographical area to cover when it comes to ECD Centres, primary schools and secondary schools across the City of Cape Town. This clearly raises concerns about available resources for the WCED to ensure the necessary capacity for all three levels of education.

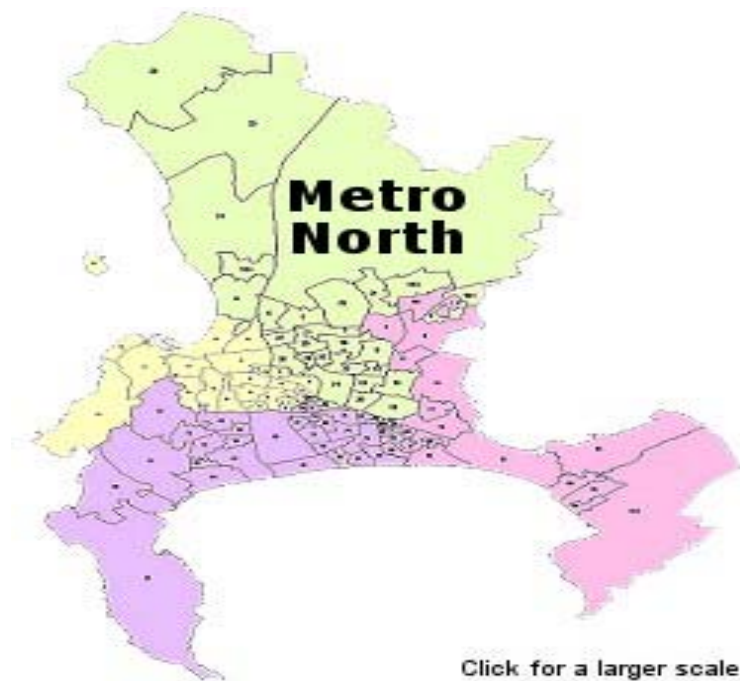


Figure 2.1 Metro North Education District (Includes communities in the Cape Flats)

Source: Western Cape Education Department, 2016

A mutual and interconnected relationship between the WCED, the Department of Social Development (DSD) and Local Government can have great potential to create a streamlined process in the establishment of ECDCs. ECDCs are important to the development of children in the Cape Flats in terms of reading and mathematical skills and to ensure good nutrition. As Figure 2.1 shows, Metro North covers a large district of primary schools that with the current legislation will all have to enrol children for Grade R before they start with formal Grade 1 classes.

2.1.5 Values and moral development

In order for social responsibility to be instilled in children, it is important to impart strong moral values during the early phases of a child's development (Wray-Lake & Syvertsen, 2011). One can barely make caregivers responsible for prioritising social values if one of their greatest challenges is keeping children safe and alive. With the

high unemployment rate in the study area (Bateman, 2015; September *et al.*, 2016), many caregivers have to struggle to meet children's basic needs. Spending quality time with children becomes a luxury out of reach for many caregivers. If social skills cannot be developed due to this, it can have a lasting impact on moral decay in communities. Scannapieco and Connell-Carrick (2005) observe that the *"high prevalence of maltreatment for infants and toddlers denotes a significant number of children who will experience negative developmental outcomes, possibly throughout their lifespans"*.

Children's common interactions with their parents or caregivers correlate to the interaction with their peers. Caregivers and parents model behaviour and attitudes that children are likely to copy. Harwood *et al.* (2008: v), however, suggest that *"The child is not viewed as a passive recipient of environmental influences but as an active producer of those influences"*. This understanding of the importance of the child's environment suggests that a sound and rewarding relationship with caregivers both inside the domestic sphere and inside the formal institutional sphere of ECD is key. If such caregivers, however, face their own moral ambiguity or insecurity, such as in cases of parental or caregiver addiction to drugs and alcohol, the outcome for the child will be poor.

Blazer (1989: 82) states that *"Attitude education, naturally, is all about the teaching and learning of attitudes."* Interpersonal trust during childhood and adolescence is very important to the child's future relationships and development of positive attitudes to others and his/her environment. According to Gurtman (as cited by Rotenberg, 2010: 56) *"The capacity to form trusting relationships is regarded as essential to the development and maintenance of a healthy social relationship"*. Trust starts with the attachment to their caregivers the reciprocal relationships of knowing that the individual can trust others and that it is acceptable to ask for help (Rotenberg, 2010; Christens & Peterson, 2011).

Standing (2006) and Arendse and Gunn (2010) cite several examples showing how violence and drug abuse on the Cape Flats have a negative and destructive impact on

the community. The children raised in these communities are not only exposed to the immediate violence, but the legacy that they are reminded of, often creates a sense of disempowerment. The social disconnect the apartheid government created has not been addressed and is slowly corroding the moral fibre of communities on the Cape Flats. Gang violence and gang-related crime, drug and alcohol abuse have become a way of life with some of these criminal activities becoming a source of income for desperate people. In these cases, the well-being of the community or the development of children are secondary to the immediate gains to be had from petty crime or acceptance into a gang. This is why government, the business sector and the community should work together to ensure that children raised in these areas can fulfil their potential.

2.1.6 The National Development Agency report

The National Development Agency (NDA) is a government agency tasked to eradicate poverty. This section will give an overview of the NDA's report (Atmore, et al., 2012 NDA, 2012) on challenges facing the ECD in South Africa. The report found that *"there are approximately 6.5 million children in the 0 to 6-year-old age cohort. Of these, some 3.8 million children (59.2%) live in circumstances of dire poverty"* (NDA, 2012: 1).

Appropriate cognitive stimulation in the crucial early years of development will ensure greater primary school enrolment and attainment rates (Cross, 2017; Meier & Marais, 2007). The NDA report mentions that one of the successful initiatives affecting the lives of children is that the nine provincial Education Departments make annual subsidies available for ECD sites (NDA, 2012). However, the researcher's initial contact with potential interviewees already revealed that although such policies are designed to improve the lives of young children, there are implementation issues. For example, the roll out of compulsory Grade R (the year before starting the first year of primary school) post-1994, is still hampered by inadequate aid and resources to ensure easily-accessible ECDCs. The lack of execution and monitoring from provincial government, the custodians of these programmes, further restricts the success of implementation of many government-focused initiatives.

The NDA report (Atmore *et al.*, 2012) recommends support to the ECD sector in terms of:

1. ECD centre infrastructure upgrades
2. Education equipment provision
3. Nutrition support
4. ECD Practitioner/teacher development
5. Building Institutional capacity
6. Family Outreach Programmes
7. Research.

2.1.7 Literature on the impact of the environment

ECD is recommended by Erikson (2008), Bronson (2004) and Bronfenbrenner (1989) as ensuring a context or environment for children that can foster positive change and development. Sherrill (2004:601) says in this regard that “*serious behaviour problems can be reduced by changing the content of curricular activities to better meet the students’ interests and needs.*” Emerson (2001) suggests that lasting positive outcomes can be ensured for children who have been supported to adapt to their social environment through a curriculum that takes their particular social challenges into account.

Nutbrown and Clough (2014: 99) use the notion of “*sense perception*” to refer to direct, concrete observation that precedes any form of verbal description of that observation. Children’s sense perception can therefore be stimulated or inhibited by their environments. It is of importance to note that education plays a crucial role in early childhood development.

Harwood, Millar and Vasta (2008: 21) say that “*Freud was the first major developmental psychologist to argue that nature and nurture interact as significant*

contributors to the child's development". The question arises as to whether the environment has a nurturing effect on the development of the child. Presently the Cape Flats have become associated with violence and inept methods of policing by the South African Police Services (SAPS). Dolley (2017) refers to a brazen display of hostility between rival gangs and disrespect for legal structures in the Cape Flats (Jensen, 2008). This is where ECDCs can have a positive influence on the child at an early age and may help them cope with their circumstance and environment, but may also encourage them to make different life choices when they are older. This may help end the vicious cycle of violence in the environment.

2.2 OVERVIEW OF ECD IN SOUTH AFRICA

Atmore (2013: 153) quotes the apartheid Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd, with his justification of apartheid in saying: "*There is no place for the Bantu in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. What is the use of teaching the Bantu child mathematics when he cannot use it in practise?*" This is how the division of resource allocation between the white population and the black population was enforced. It created a long-lasting, negative impact on the development of coloured, black and Indian children and a legacy of inferiority in the Cape Flats.

Child development is an area of study in which many researchers from many disciplines and backgrounds devoted research to understand the importance and relevance of child development from birth through to adolescence (Berk, 2003; Bijou, 1978; Cook & Cook, 2005; Vander Zanden, 1997). Following on from this, ECD has become the phenomenon that even poor countries find relevant to future employment growth. Garcia, Pence and Evans (2008: 2) state that "*For much of the 20th century and throughout most of the world, early childhood (from birth through school entry) was largely invisible as a state-policy concern.*" Garcia *et al.* (2008: 23) reference a report by UNESCO in 2006 which established that "*only 12 percent of Sub-Saharan Africa's preschool-age children between ages 3 and 6 enrolled in preschool in 2004, which is a third of the rate in East Asia and South Asia. The gross pre-primary school*

enrolment rate has grown by 2 percentage points between 1999 and 2004, increasing from a total enrolment of 5.1 million children to 7.4 million". This is a clear indication that in Africa children are not a high priority for state investment. In South Africa, where state resources were divided unequally between races during apartheid, black, coloured and Indian children were left behind in terms of state funding for ECDCs.

The post-1994 government released the Education White Paper 5 on Early Childhood Development in 2001, the Welfare White Paper of 1997, the National Integrated Plan for Early Childhood Development in 2005 and the Children's Act of 2005 with subsequent amendments. These laid the foundation to create and sustain a conducive environment for previously-disadvantaged children to catch up with privileged children.

2.2.1 Overview of ECD in Africa

Even though ECD is still in its infancy in South Africa, community-based centres have been in practice for many years prior to formal ECDCs. Munthali, Mvula and Silo (2014: 3) say that "*Malawi is one of the countries with the most extensive network of ECD centres in Africa*". These centres consist of community-based centres, day-care centres and pre-school centres. Community-based child care centres (CBCCs) are successful in Malawi as the community takes responsibility for them by supplying resources like utensils and toys to stimulate play and cognitive development. The state monitors the nutritional progress of children. This is built on a model introduced by missionaries as early as the 1950s in Malawi. These ECDCs are predominantly urban phenomena according to Munthali *et al.* (2014). They follow a holistic approach to child development and offer "*health care, community-integrated management of childhood illnesses, psychosocial care and support, water and sanitation, nutrition and stimulation and play*" (Munthali *et al.*, 2014). In 2006, Malawi had 400 000 children enrolled in 5 665 centres (Munthali *et al.*, 2014).

Dowd *et al.* (2016) confirm the benefits of early childhood interventions for both genders in the Emergent Literacy and Math Skills (ELM) and the ECDC programmes.

Research seems to suggest that a holistic approach to ECD creates a wholesome child, but this does not imply that these must be copied as is in all contexts. Instead, best practice in ECD programmes is to customize these to the unique needs of the child and the community. Understanding the background and respecting the culture of the community are important in this regard. The Bernard van Leer Foundation is a private institution in the Netherlands, concentrating on global ECD services, Indakway and Miriti (2010) undertook research on behalf of the Bernard van Leer Foundation about best practice in ECD and found that attending to children's nutrition is key in ensuring better learning. Indakway and Miriti (2010) found that in Kenya, the physical building of the ECDC is less important than caring for hungry children.

2.3 ECD AS A FACTOR IN SOCIAL COHESION

2.3.1. Introduction

Wray-Lake and Syvertsen (2011: 14) say that "*Social responsibility is a value orientation, rooted in democratic relationships with others and moral principles of care and justice, that motivates certain civic actions*". Children born into communities in the Cape Flats are exposed to an environment of overcrowding and alcohol abuse. With a lack of parks and other open spaces for recreation, these children often take to the streets to play under the watchful eyes of one of the mothers. Play is a big contributor to social cues and development and in discovering one's environment (Dowd *et al.*, 2016; Howard & Alderson, 2014; Meier & Marais, 2007; Weinstein & David, 1987). However, today children cannot play in the streets of the Cape Flats out of fear that they might get caught in gang violence, or fall victim to stray bullets.

Ungar *et al.* (2013) found that children from stressful environments easily develop resilience when balanced by a positive socialisation agent such as an ECDC. In most ECDCs, children spend up to four hours a day interacting with the caregivers and other children, so the potential for the development of resilience and positive socialisation in these centres is huge.

The words of Young (2002: v) that “*education is a great equalizer if all children have an equal opportunity to take advantage of it*” is still very relevant today. If the South African government can provide equal opportunities to all the children in South Africa it will help redress the problems of the past. Unfortunately, South Africa still has one of the worst track records when it comes to education. Donald, Lazarus and Lolwana (2010: 205) say that “*poverty in South Africa is widespread in a country where adversity, poor education and social conditions reinforce one another.*”

This is true of previously disadvantaged communities in South Africa, and especially rural areas and the Cape Flats. Children in the Cape Flats are exposed to different forms of negative social development. For example, malnutrition: being born into a family where parents are addicted to drugs or alcohol or where prolonged under- and unemployment have eroded household resources; imply that children are at a disadvantage emotionally, psychologically and educationally. The negative impact of the child’s home environment is likely to extend to his/her classroom. Education can be an escape from the cycle of poverty. The negative effect of chronic poverty, need and lack of positive role models can have lasting, damaging effects. Positive reinforcement from an early age can build a resilience against the negative stresses of the environment.

For EDC to become the optimal socialisation agent for children in disadvantaged and stressed environments, one would have to look at its role in:

- laying meaningful foundations for the development of human capabilities;
- recognising and nurturing emergent skills, abilities and attitudes, should be explored;
- reducing inequalities created by social class, race and gender;
- developing school readiness;
- developing social functioning; and
- contributing to the economy

These issues are discussed in greater detail below.

2.3.2 Meaningful foundations for capabilities

Lazarus *et al.* (2009: 463) say that “*Ecological models of community counselling draw from a variety of ecological and systems theoretical frameworks, which generally focus on different levels of systems, including individual, relationships/family, groups, community, institutional, and broader societal factors and dynamics*”. This implies that there are different structures and methods of developing children’s abilities in society. One has to emphasise that learning is a process of building which implies there has to be a foundation. This foundation has to be established before the child goes to school (Böhmer, 2007; Gray & MacBlain, 2012). This is why ECDCs play a crucial role in laying a solid base in the child’s literacy and numeracy skills. To prevent school dropout in later ages, it is vital that children are well prepared for school and that early development problems are identified prior to school enrolment.

2.3.3 Recognising and nurturing emergent skills, abilities and attitudes

Children exposed to prolonged violence are prone to suffer from psychological stress. For these children to be given the appropriate help, a responsible socialisation agent in their environment should be able to recognise the symptoms of psychological stress. A teenage mother, for example, might not be able to see that her child is suffering from any psychological or other problems that might impede on his or her development. An ECDC staffed with trained practioners can ensure timely referral of children with these issues for appropriate treatment, assistance and remedial actions (Hodgson, 2014, Luby, 2015).

2.3.4 Reducing inequalities created by social class, race, gender, etc.

Kakwani and Silber (2007: 89) mention, “*there is growing consensus among academics, policy makers, and even politicians that attention to multidimensional poverty and inequality should not be treated as soft issues that can be subordinated*

to more important and fundamental interest in maximizing total economic output". Apartheid created an unequal society and almost twenty-three years into democracy the most vulnerable are still experiencing the brunt this negative legacy created. It is therefore fundamentally important to create a new, equal society and the best way of investing in the future of the country is by investing in the development of its children. The current government's policy is to invest in ECD and to create centres that will assist with the development of children – especially those a context of unemployment and violence.

2.3.5 Developing school readiness

One cannot minimize the role of the ECDC in recognising problems in a child at an early age as this information is important to the teacher when the child has to start with his/her formal schooling. Teachers have to determine what the child already knows. This will ensure that teaching falls within the child's experiential world and further development is appropriate in line with teaching outcomes (Meier & Marais, 2007). Literacy in early childhood is crucial for schooling as it will lay the foundation of all other attributes and skills during the formal schooling years (Larson & Marsh, 2013).

2.3.6 Developmental functioning

A child's development is not in isolation of his/her ability to be able to read and identify colours, it is encompassed in the child's overall nurturing (Luby, 2015). Early learning is based on the child's cognitive, health and physical development (Goswami, 2004). These development areas can be affected by external triggers in the environment and chronic stress as well as adversity can hinders the normal progress in a child's developmental functioning (Allen & Kelly, 2015).

2.4 ECD AND THE IMPACT ON THE ECONOMY

“Childcare has become increasingly important around the world as many parents are working and they need care for their children. In addition, societies are increasingly interested in providing educational experiences and stimulation for all children to improve their chances of doing well in school and life” (Young 2002: 145).

Education creates a skilled labour force. In order for children to prosper, principled policies, the monitoring and evaluation of such policies should take place to be effective. This is the only way for a country to ensure the successful development of children. The growth in employment stimulates a country's economy and has an impact on other social policies that will create a conducive environment for social cohesiveness.

2.5 EARLY CHILDHOOD DEVELOPMENT POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA

In 2000, a nationwide ECD Audit surveying 23 482 ECD sites was successfully completed. The Social Development Departments make subsidies available to each of these sites each year (Atmore, 2013). This was all part of the democratic government's process of redressing the inequalities of the past. More children now have access to a social grant, and there is financial assistance and free primary health care for children under six years of age.

The *White Paper on Education and Training* (Republic of South Africa, 1995) emphasises that interventions should not solely focus on the child, but cater holistically for the family, community and government policies. Such a holistic approach is in line with an ecological model (Christens & Peterson, 2011; Senefeld & Perrin, 2014). The City of Cape Town's *Early Childhood Development Plan* (2013) states that the Children's Act, No. 38 of 2005 guides its policy on ECD matters. Due to new ward zoning schemes in the Cape Flats, it is important, for clear guidelines to ensure co-

ordination and integration between different departments involved in ECD are not hampered by demarcation challenges. Such guidelines should ensure that the number of children able to access registered ECDCs is maximised. Registered ECDCs must be compliant with the relevant safety, health and educational development needs of children. The policy distinguishes between the responsibility of Provincial Government (Western Cape) and Local Government (City of Cape Town).

The policy is set out as below (ECD POLICY 2013:7):

“Provincial Department of Social Development:

- *Must register ECD Centres and keep a provincial register of all registered early childhood development services*
- *Must register ECD curriculum programmes*
- *Determine the provisioning of subsidy to registered ECD centres*
- *Monitor the provision of registered and non-registered ECD services*
- *Cancel registration certificate for non-compliance*
- *Provide support and guidance to ECD services in the Provinces.*

Local government:

- *Issue land use rights through provision of zoning certificates*
- *Approval of building plans.*
- *Assess and provide Health and Safety certificates.”*

According to the policy, the responsibilities of ECD falls within the provincial department of Western Cape, which means that oversight with regards to monitoring and evaluation should fall within the provincial department. This implies that

accountability is firmly established at provincial level. Campbell (2012) points out that applicants have to contact departments such as Human Settlement, Environmental Affairs and Social Development during the registration process and comply with each department's legal requirements. These complicated processes are difficult for community-based ECDCs to secure registration.

The role of local government is limited to certification of zoning, issuing health and safety certificates and approving building plans. In order for these state functions to be effective, there should be no disjuncture between responsibilities and implementation in the different spheres of government. Policies on land use management and zoning requirements have an impact on community-based ECDCs as these determine whether a home-based care-taker may register an ECDC or not. The policy distinguishes between small and large facilities. Centres with between 7 and 34 children are considered small, whereas those with 35 children or more constitute large-scale centres. This is a broad classification and deviation from the distinction is not encouraged, as the size of the centre is determined by physical and spatial planning assessment criteria. This is ambiguous in communities in the Cape Flats. The dire need for child care, especially for single and teenaged mothers, means that children are taken to any centre near their home, the mother's place of employment or school. Often these centres accommodate numbers beyond their prescribed thresholds.

2.6 CHALLENGES OF EARLY CHILDHOOD DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES

Garcia *et al.* (2008: 332) say that:

"An analysis of World Bank project documents reveals that ECD projects factors often falter during implementation due, primarily, to five recurrent factors: (1) A lack of ownership of ECD programs and inadequate understanding of the benefits of ECD at the substantial and regional levels of government; (2)

ineffective coordination among key stakeholders and insufficient capacity in implementing agencies; (3) delays in procurements and disbursement of funds and an unreliable flow of resources from national to district levels; (4) socio cultural factors impeding behaviour change at the grassroots level; and (5) complex implementation arrangements due to the cross-sectoral, integrated ECD approach”.

Point one to three resonate with the ineffective ownership and coordination of provincial and local government structures that leads to delays in registration and resource allocation. Resources (such as toys, books and food) are vital for the daily operations of centres in the Cape Flats. A poor relationship between community members and ECDCs managers can further complicate matters (Lazarus *et al.*, 2009).

Even though countries have realised that it is important to invest in early childhood development in order to create holistic and lasting development, many developing countries like South Africa have unique challenges to deal with for example, poverty, high HIV/AIDS infection rates, illiteracy and more (Alderman, 2011). In the Western Cape and particularly in the Cape Flats, gang violence contributes negatively on the development of children. The South African government should critically look at these challenges so that it may invest in programmes that can address the unique environments of development in different areas. The programmes should be redefined for the area, such as the Cape Flats, to ensure that these programmes are culturally-sensitive and localised to the community.

In order for ECD programmes to be successful in reaching their objective and target population, monitoring is essential in order to re-evaluate if any regulatory changes have to be made to reach more children during the early stages of their development. There is a lack of co-ordination in the Western Cape between the City and the Province regarding policy criteria and implementation and monitoring capabilities. This has a negative impact on the period and finalisation of registration.

Government should have the political will to put the needs of its citizens first. Whereas support for ECDCs can be argued to be a matter for local government (with support from business or the non-profit sector), funding and resource enablement via central government is indispensable. This requires careful coordination. It is essential for communities to actively participate in the changes they want to see in their environment. South Africa has been plagued with corruption scandals of late and this hampers the disbursement of funds and resources initially designated for programmes like child development (Grinden & Botha, 2015 as cited in Breidlid *et al.*, 2015). These challenges and the lack of oversight create vacuums in good governance and lack of trust in the contributions of government departments.

Weinstein and David (1987: 42) mention that there are

“three types of organized child-care centres: (1) centralized day-care centres specially designed for child-care needs in a centralized location (e.g., at a “Y” or near the place of work, (2) neighbourhood day-care centres near family residences in a community context (e.g., in religious buildings or storefront locations); and (3) family day-care homes, organized home settings in the neighbourhood”.

Many of the centres in the Cape Flats have their origin as family day-care homes. The growth of formal ECDCs is a more recent phenomenon. Most ECDCs were born out of a need to generate income by stay-at-home mothers in the area. One example is the ECDC Five established by the owner, Miss X, at her home without funding from government. The last few years have seen greater governmental interest in ECD, and Miss X has managed to register her centre and secure a sponsor for two containers as classrooms. This enabled her to employ two ECD practitioners to assist at the centre.

2.7 THEORETICAL FOUNDATION OF THE STUDY

Ungar *et al.* (2013) state that “*Urie Bronfenbrenner (1979) conceived of the child’s environment as nested structures like Russian dolls. Our understanding of Russian*

dolls is that it is dolls within dolls, this is the complexity of the system of structures within structures". Bronfenbrenner's ecological model of human development, suggests that to understand a person one has to consider all facets of their experience and the differential influence that may have upon the person. This theory is relevant to the study as it relates to the interconnectedness of the child to its external stimulation and engagement.

2.7.1 Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory

The study was modelled on Bronfenbrenner's (1989) Ecological Systems Theory. The research focus on what, where, when and who influences the development of a child and how the ECD experience can shape the child and the community. Ecological Systems Theory has been used as a theoretical framework by researchers like Abdu (2014), Cross (2017), Knafu (2015), Rosa and Tudge (2013).

Bronfenbrenner was a psychologist who emphasised the significance of the wider environment when trying to explore the child's development. He wanted to bring across a holistic approach whereby the environment consist of layers of the nested systems (Cross 2017: 767). These layers each impact or affect others. In particular, the micro-system, meso-system, exo-systems and macro-systems (Ungar *et al.*, 2013: 349).

2.7.1.1 *Microsystem*

"Microsystems represent activities, roles and interpersonal relations where the developing person is directly involved with particular physical and material features like the family, school class, neighbourhood or church" (Ungar *et al.*, 2013: 352). The system thus comprises the people, the roles, the routine and activities that influence a child's cognitive, social, emotional, moral and spiritual development. Cross (2017: 4) regards microsystems as "family" in the context of influencing the *"development of a child's worldview including conceptions of place and past"*.

In this study, the researcher deliberately avoids a narrow conceptualisation of family and instead sees the microsystem as primary caregivers, extended family in the home, members of the community and the caregivers or practitioners at the ECDCs who are closest to the child. Such people should champion the creation of an environment in which the child can reach his or her full potential. Johnson and Christensen's work (cited by Cross 2017: 5) suggest that, irrespective of cultural boundaries, lived-experiences determine how people relate to each other and how they are predisposed to each other. This means that children learn from adults how to adjust to their environment (Benson, 2006). The success of the ECDC will have a significant impact on the development of children and their relationship with their environment and preparing them for school.

2.7.1.2 *Mesosystem*

The layer following the microsystem is the mesosystem. *“The involvement of the structures in a child's mesosystem are meant to provide the adult relationships required for positive development. The bio-ecological systems theory holds that these bi-directional relationships are the foundation for a child's cognitive and emotional growth”* (Bronfenbrenner's Ecological System, 2001).

Ungar *et al.* (2013: 354) posit that *“Meso-systemic processes associated with resilience include interactions between microsystems, such as families, schools and religious communities”*. The benefits of a mutually-supportive interaction between the microsystem and mesosystem shapes positive youth development. It also plays a decisive role in cases where young children suffer from detachment from a parent. In such cases, the ECDC can become a transition space between the home and the school to stimulate change.

2.7.1.3 Exosystem

The layer after the mesosystem is the exosystem. Ungar *et al.* (2013:354) explain that “*exo-systems shape the quality of meso- and microsystemic interactions*”. Cross (2017: 4) describes an exosystem as “*socio-economic trends shaping senses of place, belonging and identity at the local community level*”.

This system broadens out from the family and the school to a wider community of media and societal influences. The relevance of this system is that it can provide parents with a supportive social network. Community interaction and support can help prevent child maltreatment (Meinck, Cluver, Boyes & Ndhlovu, 2013). Other factors in the exosystem include societal influences, parental employment status, the schooling system and health care (Meinck *et al.*, 2013).

2.7.1.4 Macrosystem

The macrosystem is the layer that can be deemed as the peripheral level that influences the child’s development. It is defined by Cross (2017: 4) as “*national and international socio-economic and political trends*” and Ungar *et al.* (2013: 355) as “*those aspects of the social ecology that form the cultural backdrop to a child’s bio-psycho-social development*”. This means that the child’s development is influenced by his cultural and societal values.

The macrosystem comprises of customs, attitudes, resources and laws which have a significant influence on the lives of children. It influences belief systems that shape child-rearing practices. For children exposed to violence and substance abuse, the macrosystem can be a negative factor in their development (Bronfenbrenner, 1989). Children from the Cape Flats often rely on their caregivers and social networks to create a conducive environment for healthy development.

2.7.1.5 Chronosystem

The chronosystem refers to the influence of time and events on the environment of a person. Here, the influence of technology on the learning and teaching environment should be considered (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006).

Taking all these systems into account, one can conclude that Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory stresses that people and situations contribute to the child's development (Filander, 2015).

Rosa and Tudge (2013:243) suggest that "*Bronfenbrenner's theory of human development underwent considerable changes from the time it was first proposed in the 1970s until Bronfenbrenner's death in 2005*". For this reason, his theory of how proximal processes influence the development of a child will be discussed next.

2.7.2 Bronfenbrenner's Process-Person-Context-Time (PPCT) Model

Bronfenbrenner's theory evolved from the 1970s up to his death in 2005, when he postulated a Process-Person-Context-Time (PPCT) model (Bronfenbrenner, 2005; Bronfenbrenner & Evans, 2006; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). The following concepts of the PPCT model are discussed below: process, person, context and time.

2.7.2.1 Process

Bronfenbrenner (2005) refers to "proximal processes" such as interaction, playing, reading and learning new skills as central to a child's development over a period of time. These are in turn influenced by the place or context in which such stimulation occurs and by the timing thereof. It is easy to see that a supportive context (or place) and the right kind of interaction, play, reading and learning are crucial in this regard.

2.7.2.2 *Person*

Here, the role of primary caregivers or parents in the development of the child is considered. Tudge *et al.* (2009: 200) speak of “*demand, resource and force*”, to reference the ways in which the age, gender, race and physical appearance of the primary caregiver can shape that role as either positive and healthy or negative and destructive.

2.7.2.3 *Context*

Bronfenbrenner (2005) conceptualises context as interrelated systems as described above.

2.7.2.4 *Time*

The last element of the PPCT model is the timing of the child's personal development in terms of chronological age (Tudge *et al.*, 2009: 201).

Seen in conjunction, the ecological theory and the PPCT model enable a conceptual frame that envisages interrelated systems influencing the life and development of a child. Context or ‘environment’ takes centre stage. Scannapieco and Connell-Carrick (2005) mention how the exosystem has an all-encompassing social impact on the development of the child. An exosystem fraught with chronic poverty or violence would lead to poor personal development outcomes (Scannapieco & Connell-Carrick, 2005; Tudge *et al.*, 2009; Rosa & Tudge, 2013; Ungar *et al.*, 2013; Evans *et al.*, 2014; Senefeld & Perrin, 2014; Cross, 2017; Manning, 2017).

2.7.3 Weikart's theory

Weikart (2000) theorises how and when learning occurs with children and suggests that early childhood education is often not seen as an investment, but rather a liability and as something not worth pursuing for girls. Patriarchal societies do not focus on developing girls. Africa, particularly, has been plagued for many years by discrimination according to gender, class and race when it comes to access to education in general and to ECD specifically. In this regard, children's education has previously been prioritised in rich countries with indigenous children excluded in order to make them available for labour, especially on farms, plantations, factories or as unpaid minders for younger siblings or elderly family members in households where parents were working.

It is imperative to understand that child development should coincide with educational development. For children progressing through different growth stages, education can play a pivotal role in aiding that growth from infancy to adulthood. A good development curriculum can help even the most impoverished child to reach his or her full potential educationally.

Table 2.2 Organisation principles: birth to age six

	Sensorimotor years age 0 to 2 years	Preoperational years age 2 to 6 years
How children learn	Direct experience, active learning; interaction with adult caregivers	Direct experience, active learning; verbal reflection; making decisions
Key program element	Interactive play based on child's interest	Plan-do-review; representation: telling, drawing, using invented writing

	Sensorimotor years age 0 to 2 years	Preoperational years age 2 to 6 years
What children learn	Physical reality; developing trust, autonomy, initiative, empathy	Language; exploring classification, seriation, number, space, time, music, movement; developing curiosity, initiative, interests, friendships

Source: Weikart, 2000: 47.

From Weikart's (2000) table of how children learn, it is clear that children's immediate and physical environment has an impact on their growth and that development could be a barometer for the development progress of ECDCs (see Table 2.2). Many mothers in the Cape Flats return to work after four months of maternity leave allowed for by labour law as per Regulation 25 of the *Basic Conditions of Employment Act*, 1997, and have to leave their children either in non-formal day-care institutions or in community ECDCs.

It follows from Weikart's (2000) model that young children's development is greatly shaped by listening to and observing adults. Children's physical environment impacts on their association with adults. They take their cues from caregivers and older siblings. Positive interaction will lead to positive behaviour and stimulate learning (Duke & Smith, 2009). A key element of children's sensorimotor development from infants to toddlers is to play and explore allowing them to develop some sense of independence.

Children need adults to communicate with them, and preferably the interaction must be a two-way interaction so that the child can experience a sense of trust and initiative. The pre-operational period is the stage where children learn to do things such as building little structures or feeding other toddlers. During this stage, they develop memory when they are asked to express themselves through drawing or writing. In all

of these developmental phases, children's physical environment has an important impact on their emotional and intellectual development. The foundation phase of a child's development, especially between the ages of birth to six years, will either have a positive or negative impact on the rest of their development. This is because acquiring basic cognitive skills lay the foundation for educational development. Children from deprived households and neighbourhoods may be at risk of not being exposed to the required stimuli to develop their cognitive skills.

Saracho and Spodek (2002) highlight that learning starts long before children are introduced to formal learning instruction and that children's writing and reading skills develop as they are exposed to it. This is why early childhood development must be seen in a very crucial light as to what pre-empt the child's formal education. As Saracho and Spodek explain "*Children learn their written language through active engagement with their world*" (2002: 112).

South Africa's primary and secondary education are characterised by poor educational outcomes and school retention (Saracho & Spodek, 2002: 122). The report on the *Overview of Demographic and Socio-economic Characteristics of Cape Town* (2016: 6) states "*When considering the literacy rate in Cape Town, anyone aged 15 years and older, who has had no formal schooling, is considered to be totally illiterate and those who have not completed at least Grade 7 are considered to be functionally illiterate. In 2011, of the population aged 15 years and older, 9.3% were functionally illiterate and 90, 7% literate.*" This statistic should be considered in terms of the geographical location and the juncture in time. In other words, thus unacceptable levels of illiteracy exist in Cape Town in 2017 in a middle-income country. The same report states that: "*The exposure of young children (those aged 0 to 4 years) to Early Childhood Development (ECD) activities is important in the development of the youth. [...] In 2013, only 47.2% were attending an ECD facility. 76.4% of those aged 5 to 14 years were attending an educational institution*" (City of Cape Town, 2016: 3).

2.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter reviewed literature on various elements impacting on child development. A community that still has to deal with a dark apartheid past, may not be aware of the impact it has on the development of their children. Most of the communities in the Cape Flats have many challenges they have to deal with starting with their identity, culture, race relations and social dysfunctions. ECDCs can play a role in this regard and have an ever-bigger impact on sustainable community development. The partnership between government and the communities should be holistic and continuous.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY AND BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH SITE

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The chapters preceding this chapter describe firstly, the goals and objectives in chapter one and secondly, the literature review in chapter two. The literature review covered the importance of early childhood development and the different policies with regard to ECD. This chapter focuses on the detailed description of the qualitative research methods that were applied. The researcher conducted all the interviews personally and explained to all the managers the reason for the research. The methodology of the research will be elaborated on in this chapter, with focus on the research approach, data collection methods, the sampling selection and the analysis of the data. The chapter concludes with reflections on the method and role of the research.

3.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL COHESION IN THE CAPE FLATS

The historical background of the research area is presented in this chapter to justify the selection of these areas as case studies for the research. The term Cape Flats has a history going back as far as 1811 when it was first remarked that the area stretching from the Back Table across the Cape Peninsular to False Bay was particularly sandy making travel and building difficult (SA History Online, 2011). By 1950, the area was practically uninhabited with a few farms and there was no infrastructure in the form of formal roads or modern amenities. However, during the Apartheid regime, non-white residents of Cape Town were designated to live in areas assigned according to their racial profile. Coloured people were relegated to the barren Cape Flats where only an

initial 250 houses were built in 1962 to accommodate refugees from forced removals (SA History Online, 2011). People lost their homes after the government flattened them if they refused to move out, they had their possessions and livelihoods destroyed, and were, under threats of violence, compelled to comply with government orders to move to these areas.

The Cape Flats communities were mainly created when an estimated 106 177 people were forcibly removed between 1957 to early 1980s from areas that were reclassified as white areas, such as the well-known District Six, Mowbray, Claremont and Rondebosch, and were scattered over the Cape Flats to places such as Belhar, Hanover Park, Mitchell's Plain and Walmer creating a segregated city and a community steeped in anger, hurt and displacement (SA History Online, 2011). Members were forced to co-exist with each other in these communities since the communities they once belonged to were destroyed, leaving their members scattered across a variety of areas with little opportunity to reconnect or re-establish former relationships or family bonds (SA History Online, 2011).

This led to the establishment of gangs to protect their territory and to find a way to carve out an existence to provide for their families. However, by the mid-eighties, a phenomenal growth in the number of gangs and range of criminal activities escalated to the point that presently gang violence in the Cape Flats is at an all-time high (Cape Flats, 2014). The media covers many stories of gang violence in the Cape Flats and this contributes to many professionals moving out of the area, as drug abuse and gang activities are spiralling out of control (Crime Statistics, 2016). According to the latest crime statistics, crime has increased by as much as 30% in the case of murders in Ravensmead and 34% of crimes involving illegal possession of fire arms in Elsies River (Crime Statistics, 2017). A total of 8 516 violent crimes were committed in these two areas alone with drug-related crimes at an all-time high of 3 741 cases reported to the SAPS. This shows an increase of 22% for drug-related crime in 2017 from the previous year across both Ravensmead and Elsies Rivier, a collective area of 7.46km² with a population of 60 804. This is a strong indication that there is not adequate policing and community safety programmes in the Cape Flats. If one compares the

same violent crime statistics in a wealthier area for example, Rondebosch, where 1 202 cases were reported in 2017 which only meant a 2% increase in violent crimes from the previous year, then it is clear that the population of the Cape Flats are more at risk from violent crimes (Crime Statistics, 2017). This might contribute to the prioritising of resources from SAPS in the Cape Flats, but the adverse effect means that these communities are more vulnerable.

Unfortunately, this situation has created a vacuum in assistance that has led to protracted unemployment and alcohol and drug abuse. For example, Ravensmead, Uitsig and Elsies River are being slowly eroded by the drug called “Tik”, a methamphetamine. Standing (2006) writes that the Apartheid government used drugs to destabilise communities in the Cape Flats and once the democratic elected government took over, there was no political will to eradicate gangsterism and drug abuse in the Cape Flats. The 2010 Annual Police Plan states that 80% of crimes were drug-related (especially Tik). According to the managers of the ECDCs, many of the centres are regularly burgled and vandalised by drug addicts. This seems to be a very difficult context for crèche owners and managers to render quality service to the community.

In addition, most households are headed by single mothers employed in factories in the industrial areas surrounding the Cape Flats. As these are not highly skilled jobs it does not have great remuneration benefits, which makes raising a family in the Cape Flats difficult. Meeting basic needs is a challenge and parents attempt to give their children access to education although most of them never even finished their secondary schooling. These families now have to cope with an unsafe environment due to gang activities adding to the burden of low paid jobs or unemployment. Most caregivers not only fear violence, but also they fear that their children will be drawn into these gangs. This creates a situation where children from poor communities are receptive to negative influences (Daniels & Adams, 2010; Swinger, 2014). Coleman (2013: 48) quotes Bronfenbrenner as saying “*appreciating the benefits associated with family involvement requires us to first take a broad perspective of children’s development and education. Indeed ... children’s wellbeing is the responsibility of not*

just families or schools but also the entire community". The insecurity created by the above-mentioned social problems surely has an impact on the development of children in the Cape Flats areas. The researcher identified strongly with Bronfenbrenner's theory of human ecology which suggests that early childhood development takes place in "a series of nested and interconnected structures" (Bronfenbrenner 2005: 45).

Standing (2006) and Arendse and Gunn (2010) describe how life in the Cape Flats are influenced by crime and drug abuse and how it has been spiralling out of control over the years. There is no visible impact from government's side to send a message that they are taking a stance against organised crime in the Cape Flats. Table 3.1 shows statistics confirming that crime rates remain high in 2014 and in the 2017 Crime Statistics online the figures released (see Figure 3.1), still reflects these areas as high-risk areas.

Table 3.1 Police statistics for the most unsafe areas in Cape Town 2004-2014

Most Unsafe Areas in Cape Town	Population (2011)	Police to Population Ratio	Murders (2004)	Murders (2014)	% Change	Murder rate per 100k
Nyanga	200,913	1,419	263	305	16%	152
Mitchells Plain	282,054	3,240	77	158	105%	56
Harare	173,342	1,703	85	164	93%	95
Gugulethu	126,336	1,274	146	150	3%	119
Khayelitsha Site B	154,042	1,675	213	146	-31%	95
Delft	153,633	1,167	73	144	97%	94
Bishop Lavis	106,484	1,065	41	73	78%	69
Elsies River	70,974	640	20	60	200%	85
Ravensmead	61,373	677	20	44	120%	72
Lingeletu West	64,357	593	46	43	-7%	67
Steenberg	62,103	613	20	42	110%	68
Manenberg	82,903	801	31	41	32%	49
Langa	49,599	348	55	38	-31%	77
Atlantis	74,429	1 072	35	37	6%	47
Grassy Park	89,602	1,011	25	33	32%	37
Total or Average	1,757,144	1,153	1,150	1,478	29%	84

Source: Achmat, 2014

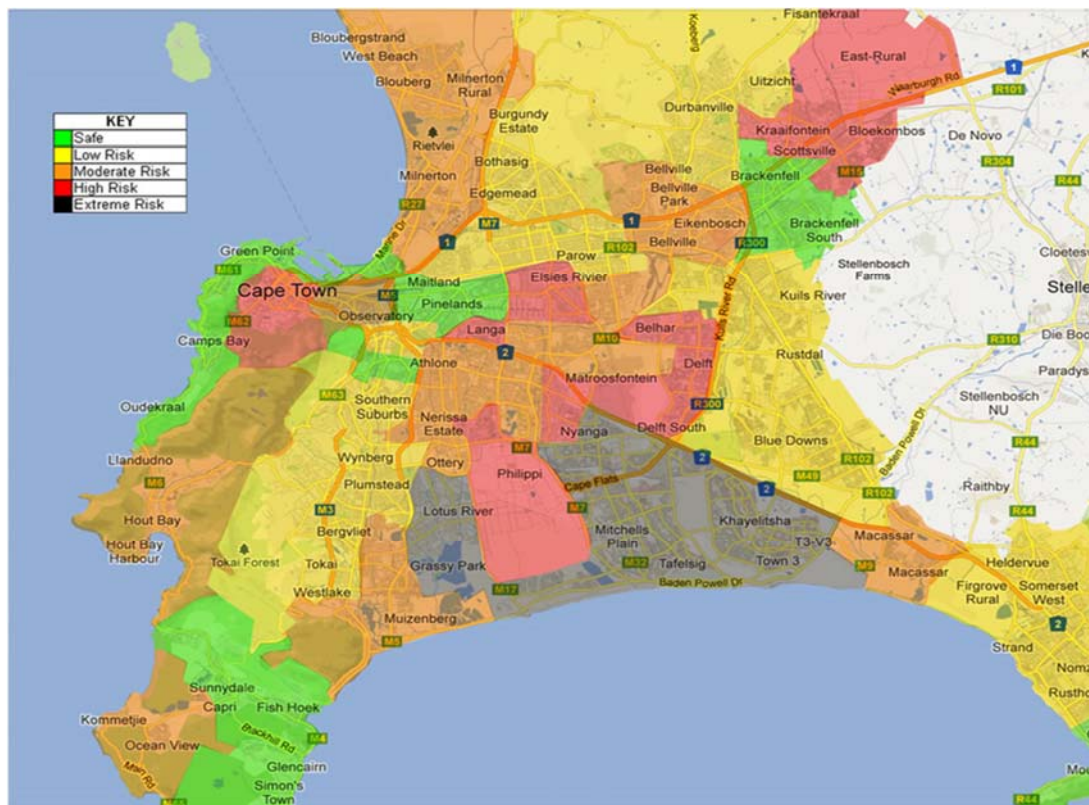


Figure 3.1 High risk areas of Cape Town

Source: Cape Town Safety Map, 2017

Overpopulation, lack of housing and the closure of many factories led to protracted unemployment and in turn an inability for many people to afford to move out of the area. There has been a steady increase in backyard dwellers, this is a phenomenon whereby people who cannot afford a house stay with their parents or relatives in “Wendy” houses (wooden shacks) erected in backyards. Many yards have two to three of these “Wendy houses” and all the occupants have to pay rent to the home owner. Most of the occupants of these informal houses survive on social grants or low-income jobs which makes it difficult for them to qualify for a home loan. Consequently, many have to wait on government housing. Unfortunately, the housing waiting list has a backlog of about 30 years. According to the 2007 Community Survey, there was an influx into the Cape Flats of people from the Eastern Cape (44.9%), outside of South Africa (19.5%) and from Gauteng (17.3%) (Stats SA, 2007). The additional *Community Survey Statistical Release P0301 of 2016* shows that there is an increase of 17.9% of

people migrating to the Western Cape from the Eastern Cape since 2011 (Stats SA, 2016a). This adds to the burden of the City of Cape Town to house the mass influx of those desperate for employment and housing. With the influx of people to the Western Cape the need for more ECDCs are imperative to prepare children for formal schooling.

With so much social adversity, it is hard to imagine that early child development will take priority over other basic needs. Paradoxically, the impoverished nature in which these children are born, makes it all the more important that well-equipped ECDCs exist in the community in order to give these children a fair opportunity to develop within a positive environment (Alderman, 2011).

Arendse and Gunn (2010) suggest that children in a context of poverty fall victim to crimes like drug abuse and gang life as they seek to compensate for the absent parent, or the material wellbeing from other sources as a means of instant gratification. Because caregivers are unable to perform the functions of role models, confidants and support bases adequately, children have less than an average chance of reaching their full potential. Children need open, green spaces to play and develop their motor sensory skills, but in an insecure under-resourced environment, this is often impossible (Whitebread, 2012). Many of the ECDCs in the research area have limited space or no financial resources to upgrade communal areas for children to play. ECDC One is located at a primary school and has to share the space with older children. For the safety of the children, the playground is enclosed and the children only have a specifically allocated time to spend on the playground. In the absence of role models, it is important to encourage the development of spaces whereby children can play and developed in safety (Weinstein & David, 1989). This crucial stage of development for young children should occur in a caring and conducive environment as children are stimulated by bright colours and touching objects (Berger, 2011). Weikart (2000) confirms the importance of early stimulation and that improved opportunities create better performance during the demands of life as well as the later stages of life.

3.3 CHOSEN METHODOLOGY

The researcher selected a qualitative, descriptive, evaluative approach. This was chosen for its flexibility, adaptability and in-depth character. The value of descriptive qualitative research methods focuses on the individual's accounts and perceptions of a situation that has an impact on them as participants (Henning, Van Rensburg & Smit, 2004). The study is based on the assumption that the participants' understanding on how ECD programmes benefit their community is key. Qualitative research lends authenticity to the information collected where quantitative research would have been a much more sterile way of collecting and interpreting data (Creswell, 2009; Creswell, 2014; Miller & Salkind, 2002).

The primary objective of the research is to identify and evaluate selected state-initiated ECDPs in the Cape Flats and if the community feels that they are involved in these programmes and if they benefit from these programmes. Community acknowledgement and involvement in interventions programmes are important to ensure sustainability (De Beer & Swanepoel, 2011), while the research findings can contribute to understanding the expectations of the community might be.

Secondary objectives were set to describe ECD as part of community development aimed at building youth resilience and fostering social cohesion in impoverished communities nationally and in other countries (Nakkula, 2010). It also demanded an analysis of the City of Cape Town's ECDP in terms of (1) the government's undergirding frame of reference for the programmes; (2) the theoretical frameworks that informed decision-making for these interventions; (3) the government's targets on measuring successes in this regard; (4) the value placed on community consultation, involvement and participation, the development and implementation of these programmes; and (5) the allocation of resources and capacities in the programme. The research problem called for the discovery of what the community knows, feels, thinks and does about community development in general and about the ECDP in particular (for the latter their involvement and participation and their perceptions of the

allocation of resources and capacities in the programme in order to compare it with the state's view of this). This entailed an exploration of the perceived impact of the ECDP on the community. The researcher seek to discover the community's perceived ability to identify their own needs with regard to ECD, to evaluate and identify shortcomings in the programme and to explore alternative ways of delivering the programme to the relevant communities as well as to formulate recommendations in this regard.

The first three objectives were approached through purposeful sampling that can confirm or refute whether the data collected will be able to tell the researcher that investment in ECD can build or not build youth resilience (Creswell, 2009). By following a descriptive approach, the researcher could analyse the community's feelings towards and understanding of community development (Marshall & Rossman, 2006).

3.4 FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEWS

Focus group interviews were conducted which helped to create an informal interview process, however the researcher was in a position to act as a moderator to keep the discussions flowing. The flexibility of the focus group research meant that the qualitative research method could be used with other multi-method projects (Silverman, 2004). The researcher was also able to include members of the focus group who weren't very vocal as most of the groups always had one dominant participant. The researcher was mindful of the fact that focus groups should be comprised of like-minded participants, but should also include participants with different expectations who can contribute in different ways to the collection of data. It was established that the caregiver/guardian/parent interviewees of this study, the security of group interviews allowed for a natural environment in which they felt less intimidated than in a one-on-one interview.

The researcher experienced an obstacle during the interview phase as some of the participants preferred not to be recorded and made their statements off the record.

This might have been due to their fear that they might offend the crèche manager. Whenever the group asked for the recording to be stopped, the researcher obliged and instead opted to take notes only.

The researcher gave the participants an opportunity to introduce themselves before the formal interview process was done so that once the interview was being recorded they could answer questions as a collective or as an individual without having to identifying themselves on record. Thus, no names were recorded officially to give them a sense of anonymity. Even though focus group interviews provide less information, it can sometimes provide additional information that adds value to the research (Hakim, 2000).

3.5 POPULATION AND SAMPLE

“The purposeful selection of participants represents a key decision point in a qualitative study” according to Creswell (2009: 118). This prompted the researcher to use a sample size of the ECDCs in a particular area by interviewing the parents of children enrolled in these ECDCs and the owners/ managers of the selected ECDC. To be objective, the researcher also interviewed the relevant officials from the City of Cape Town who were the responsible person in the ECD Department of Social Development.

3.5.1 Purposive sampling

By using purposive sampling the researcher made decisions about which groups, people or areas to include in the sampling. The targeted group does not represent the wider community, but is a representation of itself. The researcher will not generalise the research to the entire community, but the results will be limited to the sampled group. *“As the word purposive indicates, the sample is chosen for a particular purpose”* (Bertram & Christiansen 2014: 61).

The participants in this study were selected based on the following criteria:

- Managers or owners of registered or non-registered ECDs in the selected area who were willing to participate;
- Caregivers of children enrolled at the selected centres who volunteered to participate; and
- Officials who are directly involved with these communities and agreed to participate.

3.5.2 Selected ECDs area

Miller and Salkind (2002: 50) refers to “*the goal of sampling is to select a sample where the sampling error (or difference between sample and population characteristics) is minimized.*” Sampling can also be described by Grbich (2004: 61) as a “snapshot” of an event placed in context by a small group of individuals. Even though there are many areas in the Cape Flats that lack social cohesion and are in need of positive development, the following areas were chosen because of the researcher’s personal connection to the areas. In particular, ECDs in Ravensmead, in Ward10, Elsies River in Ward 28 and Uitsig in Ward 22 were selected as these areas are also part of the poorest in the Cape Flats. The City of Cape Town’s socio-economic profile states that the poverty headcount percentage for 2011 was 3.9% and by 2016 fell to 2.6%, while the poverty intensity percentage went from 42.8% in 2011 to 39.3% in 2016 (City of Cape Town, 2016: 16). Even though it decreased by 3.6%, the poverty intensity is still very high (City of Cape Town, 2016).

The online *Cape Town Census and Population Statistics 2011* published that the population of Ward 10 grew by 27% between 2001 and 2011 (City of Cape Town, 2017). This includes the suburbs of Avondale, Beaconvale, Belgravia, Bellrail, Bellville CBD, Chrismar, Dunrobin, Fairfield Estate, Hardekraaltjie, Kempeville, Klipkop, Oakdale, Oostersee, Parow, Parow East, Ravensmead, Sanlamhof and Stikland. Areas such as Oakdale, Oostersee and Parow are labelled as affluent areas and mostly populated with middle-class people. An average household increase of 3.48 to

4.01 has been recorded. The racial composition of the population is 55% Coloured, 20% black African, 20% White and 5% other races (Indian and non-South African nationals). Figure 3.2 shows the geographical location of Ward 10.

Ward 22 includes the areas of Belhar, Modderdam, Parow Industria, Ravensmead and Uitsig and the population size has increased by 4% between 2001 and 2011. The number of households increased by 9% between 2001 and 2011, but the average household size has declined from 4.34 to 4.14 in the past 10 years. The population in Ward 22 is predominantly Coloured (85%). Figure 3.3 shows the geographical location of Ward 22.

Ward 28 includes the areas of Adriaanse, Avonwood, Balvenie, Clarkes Estate, Elnor, Elsie's River and Epping Forest. In this area, the population increased from 2001 to 2011 by 10% and the number of households by 11%. There was an average decline in the household size from 4.74 to 4.71. In Ward 28, 94% of the population are Coloured. Figure 3.4 shows the geographical location of Ward 28. The increase in households is an indication of the increase of people in these communities and it is also an indication that the communities are still predominantly Coloured. Which means the culture and tradition in the community might still remain the same over several generations. It is these communities that have been generationally exposed to gang violence and substance abuse who find themselves in a cycle of violence and poverty.

There is some overlap in the demarcation of suburbs, thus many unregistered ECDCs are located in different areas with different Ward councillors. This adds to the problem of allocating funding for adequate physical facilities as prescribed by the ECD policies and requirements. One would think with the strategic demarcation of these Wards local government would have a plan of investing in the poorer ECDC's with regard to infrastructure. In an ever-changing world a universal design that will create spaces for enhancing future teaching and development methods in highly dense communities might be beneficial to the community.

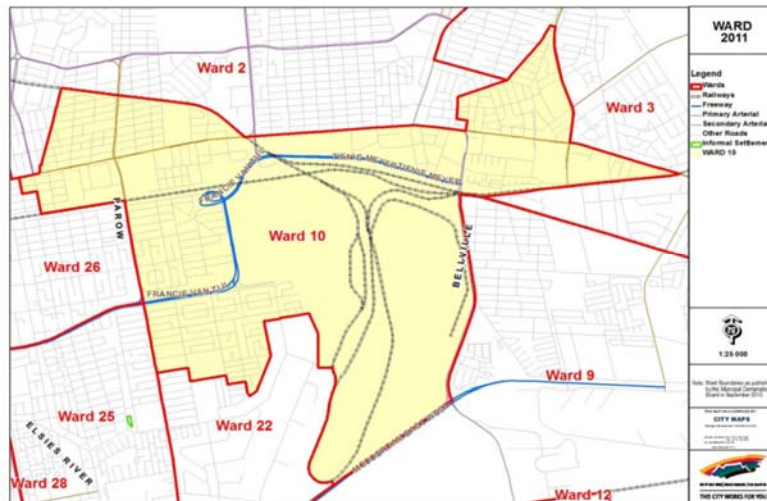


Figure 3.2 Ward 10

Source: Cape Town, 2011

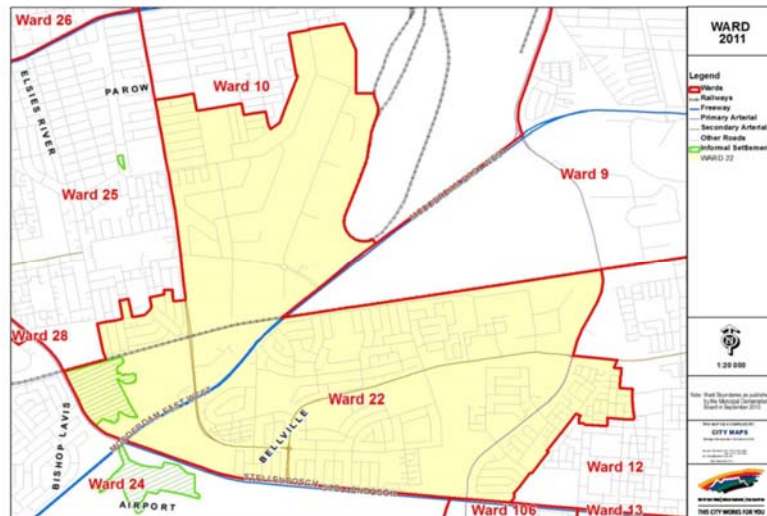


Figure 3.3 Ward 22

Source: Cape Town, 2011

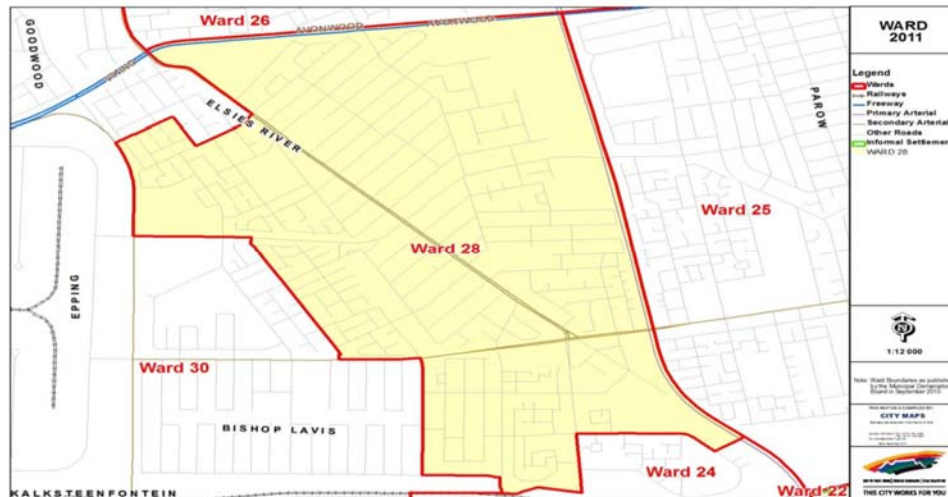


Figure 3.4 Ward 28

Source: Cape Town, 2011

ECDCs must register with the City of Cape Town. Although the portfolio falls under the Western Cape Department of Social Development, the pre-primary schools fall under the Western Cape Department of Education. In areas like Ravensmead, Uitsig and Elsie's River they fall under the Metro-North Education District. According to the online Metro-North (2017) database, only two pre-primaries are registered, namely, Husami Educare and Husseland. Both are situated within the demarcation of Ravensmead, one of the areas selected in the study where most of the ECDCs have not been registered yet. The schooling district and the electoral demarcation are completely different and this might have an impact on how resources are being allocated. It could also leave monitoring of programmes ineffective as different spheres of government are responsible for monitoring and implementation. With local government demarcations and the provincial schooling districts as it is, the ECDCs selected for the study do not all fall within the Metro-North schooling district, but in the relevant ward area. The different spheres of government registered different centres on their database. These centres are primarily for pre-primary children to prepare them for formal schooling, but due to its close proximity to Ravensmead and Uitsig as well as Elsie's River, some of the children from these areas also attend these centres. These registered and well-equipped centres are a far cry from the other participating centres of the research.

According to the information from the City of Cape Town's socio-economic profile there is an indication that the population is increasing in these areas although the household sizes are decreasing. This may be due to the high cost of living, but this needs to be substantiated. The units of observation are ECDCs in the areas and wards mentioned in the previous paragraphs. Even though there are a number of centres in the area, not all were willing to participate and the researcher collected data from those who agreed to participate in the study. Four focus groups were established and five personal interviews were conducted with owners and managers of the centres. The researcher conducted an interview with the official responsible for ECD in the City of Cape Town at the time of data collection. These details are further explained in Chapter 4 where the data is discussed.

3.6 DATA COLLECTION AND INSTRUMENTATION

A qualitative study was deemed appropriate for this study as the researcher wished to capture the direct experiences and perceptions of managers of ECDCs and of caregivers regarding the role of ECDCs in providing a good start in life for the children in the selected areas in the Cape Flats. The researcher employed two data collection strategies, namely focus groups interviews with caregivers of children attending ECDCs and personal interviews with owners or managers of ECDCs. Interviews are sound data collection methods able to uncover what people know, what their likes and dislikes are and what they think about the topic under investigation (Creswell, 2009; Marshall & Rossman, 2006; Miller & Salkind, 2002).

3.6.1 Data collection

An open-ended interview method was used to gather data from the participants during the data collection phase to encourage the participants to speak freely. With the consent of the participants the interviews were recorded and when requested by the participants, the researcher obliged by turning off the recorder. The researcher arranged with the manager of the centre for a quiet place in order to make the

recordings as effective as possible, but once the children were on their lunch or playtime break the noise interfered with some of the interviews and the researcher made notes to improve the recorded information.

The interviews with the managers were also recorded and transcribed into word processing for correctness. The individual participants were informed that the researcher will be making use of a voice recorder and would only record with their permission. They were also informed that the researcher would make notes of their conversation. The only interview that was not fully recorded, but rather transcribed from notes during the interviews is the one that was conducted with the previous City of Cape Town Social Development officer.

3.6.2 Secondary data collection

The researcher also made use of secondary data collection by retrieving data from the Western Cape Education Department database with regard to the number of ECDCs registered. The City of Cape Town also provided the researcher with information and data, the areas where these ECDCs are located and to which district the centres belong. The researcher accessed the City of Cape Town website to determine to which wards these ECDCs belong according to the ward demarcation. The use of secondary data meant the researcher did not have to collect her own data (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014).

3.6.3 Advantages of interview data

Bertram and Christiansen (2014: 83) highlight the following as advantages of conducting interviews:

- *“The researcher is present during the interview with the respondent, and thus can make the questions clear (which cannot be done with a questionnaire).”*
- *A researcher can ask more questions to obtain more detailed information if the respondent has not given sufficient detail initially.*

- *Usually it is easier for respondents to talk to an interviewer than to write long responses in questionnaire.*
- *You can collect much more detailed and descriptive data in an interview than through using a questionnaire.*
- *Interviewing is a good method to use for gaining in-depth data from a small number of people.*
- *Potential disadvantage of interviews*
- *Interviews are not simply a data collection exercise, but is also a social, interpersonal encounter. Thus, power relations can influence the process of the interview.*
- *Interviews can generate large amount of textual data.*
- *Interview result in self-report data."*

The researcher found that all these advantages were present in the data collection as it allowed for follow-up questions, probing, clarification and reassurances. These interviews became personal encounters that provided textured, rich data.

3.6.4 The focus group discussions

Focus group discussions with caregivers were selected in order to create a relaxed and safe environment for them to interact and engage with each other as well as to discuss the questions of the research. It was of importance to the researcher to create a comfortable environment in order to have a holistic approach to collecting the data relevant to the study. An interview schedule was developed for the focus groups based on a review of the literature and a consideration of the objectives of the study.

The advantage of the focus group is the shared characteristics of the participants. The researcher can guide and encourage the participants to open up and elaborate on the questions during the interviews (Silverman, 2004). The focus groups gave the participants a sense of security in that they would not be isolated or the sole focus of the interview process. They were safe in the knowledge that the other participants are from the same community and they share the same background (Creswell, 2009). The

focus group also encouraged disclosure of personal details as the participants identify with each other. Silverman (2004: 180, quoting Stewart and Shamdasanie) says: *“Focus group interactions also ‘allow respondents to react to and build upon the responses of other group members’, creating a ‘synergistic effect’*. The fear of most researchers is that one of the participants might be overshadowed by the dominant participants. This is why it is important to ensure that the selection of the group is representative of a wide group of people close to the issue being researched.

3.6.5 The recruitment process

The focus groups consisted of between four to five caregivers of children in the relevant crèche with the following features:

- Participants were between the ages of 20 – 60 years old;
- All participants had children or grandchildren enrolled at the crèche;
- Participants were married and unmarried mothers/grandmothers;
- Participants were all unemployed (some of the mothers would volunteer if a teacher are on sick leave);
- Participants voluntarily participated in the study;
- Participants consented to the interviews and that the interviews may be tape recorded.

The researcher was very surprised that fathers also volunteered to participate even though they could not get time off during the day to participate in the focus group interviews. For example, one father had full custody of his child, whereas one of the other fathers intimated that he was only responsible for dropping his child off at the centre every day. The research sites show a predominance of Coloured and Christian people. Morality and values are central to this study, as previous acknowledgment of Bronfenbrenner’s ecology theory in relation to the Ubuntu theory, religion as a normative structure in society shapes the ‘person-context’ interrelationship, people’s life opportunities and social wellbeing. As such religion featured in the study in terms of the NPOs who supported ECDCs as well as the religious beliefs of the research participants.

The researcher made contact with the caregivers through the owners and managers of the crèche who can be seen as the gatekeepers of the ECDCs (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). The researcher first made contact with the caregivers of ECDC One by messaging them via cellular telephone to ask if they would like to participate in the research. Most of the caregivers were willing to participate, but unfortunately due to a concern for safety, all interviews had to be conducted during the day time at the crèche. The interviews were conducted at the ECDC either inside a classroom or in the office of the manager, as many of the centres do not have alternative communal spaces.

3.6.6 The focus group interviews

The interviews were scheduled at a time the suited the participants. At some of the crèches it was scheduled to start at 10am in the morning and end at 11am so that it didn't take up too much of the caregiver's time. Some of the interviews were scheduled in the afternoon when caregivers came to pick up the children from crèche.

The researcher gave the participants an opportunity to introduce themselves and say if they have one or more than one child at the crèche and the complete freedom to share anything with the group if they felt like doing so. This was to create an inclusive environment. The researcher selected a structured interview with open-ended questions to encourage dialogue (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014). Some of the interviews went on long after the voice recorder had been switched off, as the caregivers felt comfortable talking to the researcher about everyday life matters and they gave permission that the conversation be recorded manually.

The interviews were recorded on a voice recorder and the researcher made notes during the interviews. The researcher distributed the questionnaire and the consent forms to the participants and asked them to read through it carefully and if they had any questions they were welcome to ask the interviewer to clarify it for them. A copy

of the questionnaire and consent form is attached as Annexure A. The participants also received a copy of the consent form as a record of their participation and to ensure that the researcher behaved ethically with their information.

Once everyone was settled and felt relaxed, the interview started. In most of the interviews there were always a dominant participant and most of the other participants would nod their head in agreement without really offering an opinion or disagreement. The researcher had to deal with this without offending the dominant participant. The researcher would rephrase the questions and ask anyone in the group what their personal opinion might be. This gave the quiet participants an opportunity to give their opinion and participate in the interview. It also had a snowball effect on the interview as the participants started to express their hopes and dreams for their children as well as their fears. These hopes and ambitions were a connection the researcher shared with the participants (Creswell, 2009). The researcher became aware of the sensitivity of the research in the sense that even though these participants do not have access to resources to ensure a better future for their children, they still have hopes of giving their children a fighting chance to succeed.

3.6.7 Face-to-face interviews with owners/ manager of selected ECDCs

Face-to-face interviews with the owner and/or managers of the selected ECDCs were chosen as a suitable data collection strategy. The researcher needed to explore issues related to the role of ECDCs in helping young children thrive in sustainable communities. The challenges to fulfil these roles with the persons who offer such services. Individual interviews allowed for explorations of views and experiences. Interviews are a great tool in purposeful sampling as it can be used as an in-depth tool. The face-to-face interview gives the interviewee a sense of control by determining the place and time of the meeting. By making these decisions the interviewee has a sense of involvement in the process and is not merely a participant. Face-to-face interviews gave the researcher an opportunity to observe the body language of the interviewee as the interview was being conducted.

A disadvantage of face-to-face interviews is that a participant might feel unprepared if he or she haven't had the opportunity to meet the researcher before the interview. The participant might feel there is no need to meet with the researcher personally and try to avoid such contact. An example of this was a manager of one of the EDCs in this study who insisted that no children from Ravensmead were enrolled at the centre, although this was an established fact. This manager wanted to conceal the fact that the children came from the area in order to avoid the centre being regarded in a negative light. After some conversations with this interviewee, the researcher was able to win her trust and the denial of enrolments from an underprivileged area stopped. The researcher discovered that trust plays a big role in personal interviews. She made use of email communications and telephone calls before setting a date and time for the interviews. The researcher wanted to ensure that the managers are aware of the integrity of the research and that they had the right to request that sensitive information would not be published.

3.6.8 Testing

The researcher tested the parameters of the study informally by meeting with the first manager identified and discussing the research in detail with her. This first meeting helped develop the interview schedule for the managers and set up some of the question items for the caregiver/parent/guardian groups.

In both cases, the researcher tested the interview schedule with the help of the first manager and a volunteer parent. This helped the researcher to test and learn how to improve on her interview skills. It created an opportunity for the researcher to ask the participant's opinion, if the questions were relevant to the environment and if it was stated clearly enough and not too ambiguous (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014).

The first meeting with sampled EDCs' managers/owners took place on the 5th October 2016 during which the researcher explained the purpose of the research to them and why the researcher wanted to meet with them first. This was also an

opportunity to understand and experience the environment first hand without jumping to conclusions. The researcher immediately realised that the owner/managers were concerned about the possible disruptive or invasive nature of the data collection methods. Assurances of confidentiality and professional conduct were key for the research participants' cooperation and participation and through meetings and follow-up meetings, the participants understood the researcher would do everything in her power not to be too invasive and to respect the times set for the meeting.

3.7 DATA ANALYSIS

After all the data were collected the next step was to analyse the data. "*Analysis means a close or systematic study, or the separation of a whole into its parts, for those of study*" (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014:115).

The researcher read and re-read the transcripts prepared from the recorded interviews and notes in order to reduce it for analysis. She made notes on how and when the data had been collected. The following themes were identified:

- The role of caregivers in ECD;
- The impact lack of resources has had on ECD;
- The contribution of stakeholders in ECD; and
- The impact of ECD programmes.

3.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

"*Ethics has to do with behaviour that is considered right or wrong. Ethics is an important consideration in research, particularly with research involving humans and animals*" according to Bertram and Christiansen (2014: 65). One of the fundamental components of research is the ethical component that guides researchers to be trusted by participants. Trust, honesty and integrity are the cornerstone that validates research (Diener & Crandall, 1978; Gregory, 2003; Lee-Treweek & Lingole, 2000; Resnik, 2011;

Simons & Usher, 2000). Ethics in research also includes clear communication between the researcher and the participants. It guides the researcher within the applied boundaries of the research that prioritise confidentiality and consent. The following key features of the ethical approach to this study are discussed below, confidentiality, informed consent, avoidance of harm and voluntary participation.

3.8.1 Confidentiality

Due to the sensitivity of collecting information in areas where communities are victimized by gangs and plagued with alcohol and drug abuse, the researcher assured the research participants of the confidentiality of their true identities and of their research data. Such assurances that were made would be guaranteed by making use of informed consent sheets, protecting all research data and documentation and assigning pseudonyms when reporting the data. The raw data collected was transcribed with the same confidentiality and was not released to any parties not relevant to the research. The participants were allowed to speak in their language of choice which made them comfortable and it presented an opportunity for them to speak bluntly and express their concerns, this is why the confidentiality agreement was very important in order to get honest and personal participation of all the participants (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014; Creswell, 2009).

3.8.2 Informed consent

The research would not have been possible without the participation of the participants and the researcher had to collect everyone's consent with a formal consent form. The consent forms that the participants signed before they engaged in the research acknowledged that their rights will be protected. It also protects the right of the researcher to use the data professionally (Creswell, 2009). The researcher explained the objective of the research to the participants and gave them the opportunity to decide whether they would go ahead and participate in the study by signing the consent form in her presence. This does not imply that the participants do not have the right to withdraw from the study whenever they feel like it, but it shows how the

researcher respect the autonomy of the person (Hammersley & Traianou, 2016). The researcher gave the participant her full commitment that under no circumstances would their identity or personal information be disclosed outside of the study.

3.8.3 Avoidance of harm

Researchers must ensure at all time that the research does no harm to the participants or anyone else. It is the responsibility of the researcher to consider if the research will do any serious emotional, social or physical harm to any of the participants or any other person associated with the participants or environment. If personal information of the participants is released it can have an unintended negative impact on the participants and harm them indirectly, some of the participants fear that they might be excluded from government resource allocation or intimidated by parents who are involved in gangs. This should be avoided at all cost and it is best to change the names of participants and the centres that take part in the study. In a study like this where the focus is on children it is important to protect the participant in order to protect and safeguard the children ensuring non-maleficence (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014).

3.8.4 Voluntary participation

Under no circumstances did the researcher coerce any of the participants to participate in the study. No promises of payment or any form of gratuity were offered to any of the participants. In order to prevent fabrication of information, no fees were offered for any information during the data collection stages (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014). The participants understood that they will not receive any financial reward, but they were happy that someone wanted to hear their story and listen to what they had to say. This was evident in the lengthy conversation with regard to their personal lives. The researcher also acknowledges that ethnographic research can be very obtrusive and therefore the researcher had to respect the participants' rights, values and their needs, and this could only be done if they volunteered the information without any form of pressure (Creswell, 2009).

3.9 THE ROLE OF THE RESEARCHER

The well-being of the participants weighed heavily on the researcher as in any study the researcher's values and assumptions contribute to her biases as stated by Creswell (2009: 196): "*The role of the researcher as primary data collection instrument necessitates the identification of personal values, assumptions and biases at the outset of the study*". The researcher identified with the participants on a social level as a woman, mother and member of a community in distress. This does not mean that these shared values and emotions had a negative impact on the research; rather it contributed positively to the study as it created a sense of community between the researcher and the participants. As a product of the community the researcher's ambitions and hopes were shaped by this community and due to first-hand experience of poor quality education opportunities in these communities, the reality for the researcher was to strive to give her children better social and educational opportunities. Armed with the everyday experience of the community and the participants, the researcher strived to be as objective as possible in order not to taint the study. The researcher thought it necessary to inform the participants that their participation might not bring any change to their situation and that the researcher didn't want to create any false hope.

3.10 CONCLUSION

Based on the history of the Cape Flats and the resulting socio-economic development issues in the area, this study chose to focus on the impoverished areas of Ravensmead, Elsies River and Uitsig. A secondary reason for this choice was the researcher's own experience in the area and understanding of the situation in which these ECDCs find themselves.

The research followed the method of personal interviews with managers/owners of ECDCs, focus groups with caretakers and an interview with a City of Cape Town official for its primary data collection. Secondary data was obtained from databases

provided by the Western Cape Department of Education and the City of Cape Town's website.

The interview process was deemed more advantageous than quantitative methods as it would provide a more comfortable atmosphere for those being interviewed as well as a set of descriptive data from which particular themes could be drawn to answer the primary problem statement and secondary objectives.

The recruitment process for the focus groups followed a personal appeal for voluntary participation of caregivers of children attending the ECDCs of the study. The main concern for the focus group participation was their right to anonymity. Much was gained from this method as the caregivers felt comfortable with the researcher and gave additional insight into the background to the problems surrounding the ECDCs in the area.

The one-on-one interviews with the managers/owners of the ECDCs gave a much more in-depth means of finding information regarding their understanding of the support and survival of ECDCs in their area. It was useful to test the questionnaire and interview method with an ECDC manager before conducting interviews with the study participants as it helped sharpen the interview skills of the researcher and helped clarify some of the questions.

Because the researcher has personal experience of the area, it was important to carefully incorporate ethical considerations of confidentiality, inclusion of informed consent forms, and avoidance of harm by ensuring safety and security and voluntary participation. The fact that the researcher understood the plight of the participants, made for a more positive role in the research study.

The following chapter details the interviews with all the participants and explains their responses.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSING THE COLLECTED DATA

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the data collected via a qualitative study involving parents, caregivers and managers of ECDCs in the selected areas of Ravensmead, Elsies Rivier and Uitsig in the Cape Flats in the city of Cape Town, is presented. There were three data collection phases: phase one was focus group interviews with parents and caregivers, phase two was personal interviews with the ECDC managers and phase three was a face-to-face the interview with an official from the City of Cape Town. The data is presented according to these phases, after which four common themes that emerged from all three phases are analysed.

The researcher tried to capture the research participants' personal views and understanding of the objectives as stipulated in chapter one. In addition, the researcher's field notes are presented in order to paint a picture of the ECDCs selected for the study. The information provided on the centres is based on personal on-site visits to the centres. Photos are published with the consent of the participants.

4.2 BACKGROUND TO THE SAMPLED ECDCs

Five ECDCs were selected for participation in the study and brief observational notes on each are presented below. To protect confidentiality, the names of the ECDCs are not revealed.

4.2.1 ECDC One

The centre had fifty two children enrolled for the year and three teachers. One of the teachers, who is also one of the managers at the centre, is a qualified teacher. She has retired a few years ago and decided to become involved in the centre. The other manager and teacher only recently started with her N4/N5 Educare training through Northlink College with the assistance of the Department of Social Development. The centre does not offer formal teaching to the children and children have to leave the centre to address Grade R at school. There are two age groups at the centre, namely eight months to two year old children in the baby room and the three to five year old children in the pre-pre-primary phase. The baby room has ten children and one teacher, the second class with forty-two children has two teachers.

The centre relocated to a primary school in Ravensmead that was on the verge of being closed down by the Western Cape Education Department due to dwindling enrolment numbers. The centre were previously located at the Full Gospel Church in Ravensmead as one of the first crèche's in the area. The crèche had to relocate after the building was condemned as unsafe by health and safety inspectors of the City of Cape Town. The advantage of utilising the classrooms at the school is the class size is big enough to accommodate at least twenty to thirty young children comfortably.

Based on interviews with the ECDC manager and as suggested in its documentation, this ECDC has always been a faith-based and community-based centre established by the church in order to support working mothers (many of them single parents) with professions as nurses, teachers and police women. In recent years, rising unemployment and a tendency amongst working class parents to send their children to centres outside the area, meant that the centre is struggling financially.

The centre rents the classrooms from the primary school on an annual lease agreement, but the space comes with its own challenges such as the lack of important resources and facilities. The classrooms have no electricity and there is no kitchen to

prepare meals for the children during the day. The gravel courtyard (see Figure 4.1 and 4.2) restricts play – an integral part of a child's development (Howard & Alderson, 2014). There is also no shelter from the weather when it is hot or when it rains. The school was never designed to host a crèche or pre-primary and therefore the playground is far away from the crèche. The ECDC also needs to limit play time in coordination with the rest of the school as all the children need to share this limited space. Another concern is the school is located on the periphery of the suburb and next to an industrial area which exposes the children to noise and air pollution.



Figure 4.1: Photo of ECD One shows the playing area in front of the class



Figure 4.2 Photo of ECD One shows the size of the classroom

4.2.2 ECDC Two

This is one of the first formally registered centres in the area. The building is well equipped by the municipality for early childhood development. The toilet facilities are designed for young children with basins and taps they can reach easily to practice good hygiene. ECDC One lacks these facilities as they had to share facilities with the school and had to use the toilet facilities closest to them. ECDC Two is situated on the west side of Ravensmead in close proximity to the police station, but still falls prey to burglaries. The manager at the centre mentioned there were management issues with her predecessor and the centre was, at the time of the interview, not yet current with its re-registration at the Western Cape Education Department and the City of Cape Town's Department of Social Development.

The centre has 35 children enrolled with three teachers. One teacher is busy with N4 training. There is one class of ten children with one teacher and a class of fifteen children with two teachers. The current learner enrolment ages are between two to five years and the number of enrolments are steadily increasing. Children are taught basic hygiene rituals and how to count from one to ten. They are also taught nursery rhymes and religious prayers. The centre's manager believes that the parents must adhere to the centre's policy of no absence without a valid reason. The centre supplies the children with one decent meal a day. Their operational plan is to ensure that there is a structure to the daily activities and to ensure that the equipment and infrastructure remain in a good condition and that they have operational funds available. Due to the low monthly fees paid by the parents, the centre cannot afford to employ a maintenance person to help with the daily maintenance. The manager has to rely on her spouse to do maintenance work at the centre especially after a recent burglary in which the centre has been vandalised.

The photos in Figure 4.3 and 4.4 show that the school is fenced in and has a neat play area. It also shows that the manager of the centre is trying to create an appealing facility to give parents peace of mind that their children are at a safe, clean place during the day even though the equipment is sparse and gets stolen at times.

4.2.3 ECDC Three

This crèche is located within the Ravensmead Community Welfare centre. There are currently 28 children enrolled at the centre with eight of them below the age of two years old and 20 children between the ages of two to five years old.

The centre was managed by the Welfare Trust and housed an office for social workers and a centre for the elderly. The centre has been operating for more than thirty years, but the state of the centre has drastically deteriorated due to the lack of proper maintenance. Thieves broke into the centre through the roof and even hacked the stove to pieces to sell as scrap metal in order to buy drugs (see Figure 4.5). According

to the centre's manager the Ravensmead Welfare Trust are trying to evict the current occupants and use the facilities as a computer training centre. This had led to a protracted legal dispute between the current board members of the trust and the manager of the centre. The centre's electricity and water supplies have been disconnected and this makes it a challenge in executing daily operational matters.

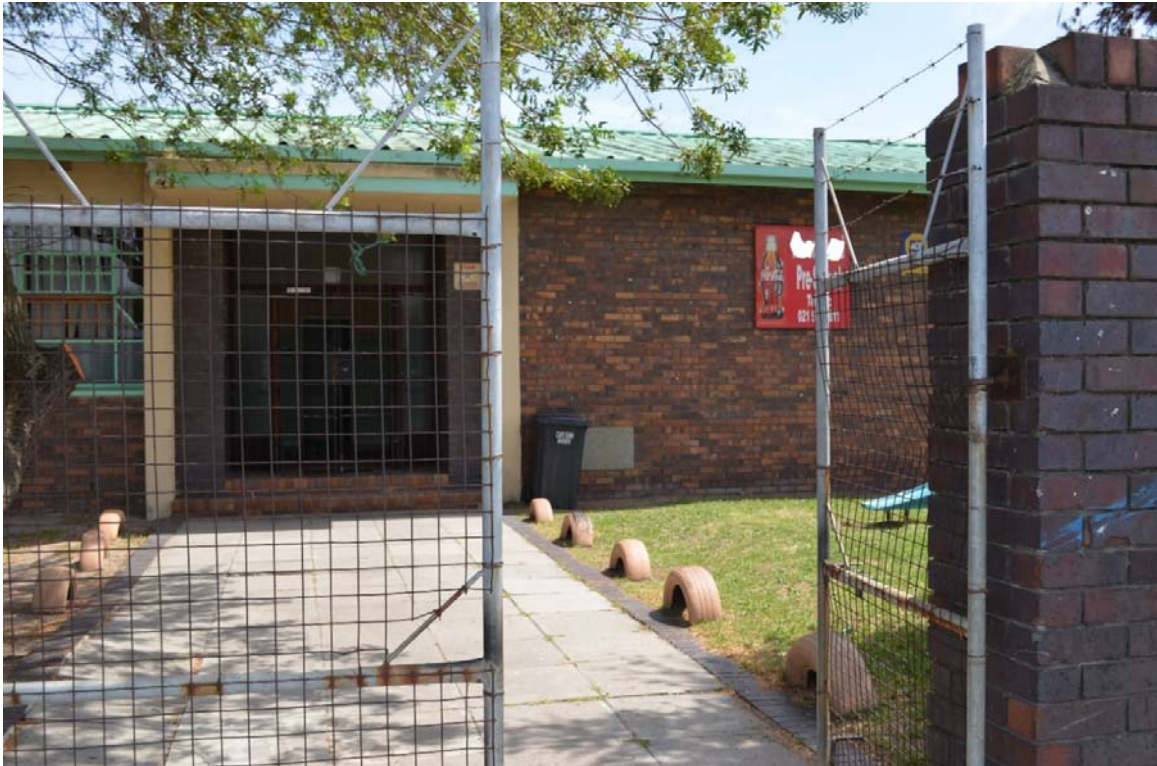


Figure 4.3: Photo of ECD Two shows a well-maintained centre although most of the playing equipment has been stolen



Figure 4.4: Photo of ECD Two shows the sparsely equipped playground of the centre



Figure: 4.5: Photo of ECD Three shows how burglars accessed the building through the roof of the centre

4.2.4 ECDC Four

This centre was established due to a generous donation by a priest from the Anglican Church in Uitsig. In his will he stipulated that the centre can only be used for early childhood development in the community. The community is very proud of this centre and takes good care of it without any government subsidy. Their only source of income is the monthly enrolment fees paid by the parents and the contributions made by the manager. The manager volunteers her time managing the centre. In contrast with its surroundings, this ECDC has clean and well-maintained facilities and a garden, while outside its fence, garbage and debris gather. The play area is painted with colourful images to stimulate the children development (see Figure 4.6).

This ECDC almost has a rural feel to it as children were herding animals such as pigs through the streets. Nevertheless this tranquillity was soon shattered during the researcher's first field trip when gun fire could be heard and the manager took immediate steps to secure everyone's safety. She explained that the surrounding area is well known for gang violence. The centre is a beacon of hope in this community surrounded by pain.



Figure: 4.6: Photos of the colourful play area inside ECD Four

4.2.5 ECDC Five

This privately-owned centre was established by the owner at her home because there were a lack of ECDCs in the Uitsig area. However, the owner is also the chairperson of the Catholic Welfare Forum, an umbrella organisation for ECDCs in Uitsig, and therefore the centre benefits from welfare donations. In this regard, the centre received two containers to serve as classrooms to absorb the high demand for more enrolments. There is little space available for an outside play area, since the centre is located on a residential site. Despite this, ECDC Five had the largest proportion of parent/guardian/caregiver focus group discussions of all the centres to have expressed satisfaction with the services that the centre renders. Moreover, these participants also expressed positive attitudes regarding participation in the centre. During the time of data collection, the researcher personally observed a large group of parents/guardians/caregivers support the centre's fundraising event (see Figure 4.7).



Figure: 4.7 Photo of ECDC Five's fundraising event

4.3 RESULTS FROM THE FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

Focus groups comprised of parents whose children attend the specific centre. Discussions related to questions pertaining to these participants' collective understanding of early childhood development and the impact that the ECDCs might have on the development of the children in its care.

Participants were reluctant to start the conversations, so the researcher had to rephrase some of the questions to encourage participation. The researcher discovered that the one hour scheduled for the focus group discussions was not enough.

Ravensmead, Uitsig and Elsie's River were part of the first communities created on the Cape Flats. When communities were removed from their homes due to the Group Areas Act No 14 of 1950, they erected shacks on the land where they were literally dumped. This displacement created a vacuum and a disadvantaged environment in which to raise children (Lockhat & Van Niekerk, 2000). The adverse effects of this history on these communities and their children are still visible. The researcher found a deep awareness among the research participants that they have little choice but to put up with a situation that is unlikely to change. One explained:

"We have no choice but to live in an area where gangs run amok and young children are raised in the line of fire. Our kids are never really safe from harm." [Focus Group Discussion 2].

Another mother provided an anecdote demonstrating the lack of safety:

"Youngsters as young as twelve years old are recruited by gangs when they stand around on street corners or on shops stoeps (porches)" [Focus Group Discussion 1].

This highlights the need for social and behavioural interventions (Lambrechts, 2012). One has to understand the impact on the development of the child in their early years to understand the impact it might have on their teenage years (Lambrechts, 2012;

Ward *et al.*, 2013). Negative influences at a young, impressionable age may influence a negative social impact on the community at a later stage perpetuating the negative cycle. Society is responsible for socialising its members to be law-abiding, well-adjusted citizens that have a responsibility to their children as the future of any community is dependent on the healthy, emotional and physical well-being of its children.

Another important theme that came up time and again is that most of the children are raised by single mothers or grandparents, especially when the mothers become addicted to drugs or are teenage mothers and cannot take care of the children. Here is an example of an elderly grandmother's story:

"I raised her (granddaughter) from baby time. Her mother (the respondent's daughter) stayed in Parow and had other children. And her mother paid me R150 rand - which was a lot of money back then. And then one day, my daughter turns up at my house to fetch her child. Then, after a while, my daughter came back to say that the child was sexually molested. And I told her: 'Not when she was staying with me.' Then she (the granddaughter) came to live with us again and in the morning I would take her to school and once I left, men would come and pick her up and she eventually just left primary school. She started to use tik and my husband was worried about her, because she had a baby by then. And she would walk around at night with this child. And you know how the people watch you. So I decided to take the child (great grandchild) but then I had to take her (grandchild) also. Now the child calls her by her name and she calls me 'Mommy'. We wanted to adopt the child, but she does not want to leave the house so the social worker said we cannot adopt the child if she is living with us. The father of the child is in and out of jail and also do bad things so it is best if we raise the child ourselves" [Focus Group Discussion 1].

Children develop best in a safe environment like the home (Lazarus *et al.*, 2009; Evans *et al.*, 2014) as this is where they learn their most valuable social skills and the most

effective bonding happens with the primary caregivers. In order to understand if the ECD centres in the area make a difference and understand the vital social roles they play, it was imperative to get insight from the caregivers who rely on these centres to not only provide a place of safety for their children, but also to establish a solid educational foundation for their children.

4.3.1 Biographical details of the focus group participants

The participants of the focus groups were parents, grandparents and guardians of children attending the ECDCs in the selected areas. They were all women between the ages of 20 to 65 and mostly unemployed. Contact was made through the assistance of the centre's managers and when asked if they can reach out to fathers the response was as follows

“My dear child, fathers are rare things here at the crèche. We only have two dads that ever come to drop off their kids. Most of these kids the fathers made them and ran away” [Focus Group Discussion 1].

They were willing to participate voluntarily without any compensation. Most of the young mothers rely on the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) offered by the Western Cape Government and the National Public Works Department for short term and temporary jobs (Western Cape Government, 2017). One of the mothers graduated from the University of the Western Cape in March 2017 with a Bachelor's degree, however, at the time of the interview she was still unemployed and relied on her mother for financial support.

The members of the focus groups displayed different communication styles with some tending to want to dominate the conversation and others being passive. The researcher had to intervene in order to get all the women to participate. The researcher soon found that a common goal uniting all of the focus group discussions was that they wanted to be the best mother or grandmother that they could be. Most of the caregivers do not own a house and rely on social housing or reside with their parents. Here are quotations illustrating this point:

“I’m the grandmother but I have to support the mother and her child and she do not want to leave” [Focus Group Discussion 1].

“I’m looking for work because we are so many in the house and the grant money isn’t enough for crèche and rent” [Focus Group Discussion 2].

“I’m living with my mother and father, sister and brother at home, and my son sleeps with me in the room I share with my sister. If I find a job I am going to put up a Wendy house in the yard” [Focus Group Discussion 4].

Overcrowding and restriction of movement can have an adverse impact on the child’s safety and a negative impact on the development of the child’s social skills. Driving through the area to get to the participating crèches one can observe the many Wendy houses in Uitsig. Some houses had one, two or even three Wendy houses in the yard, leaving very little space for young children to play.

4.3.2 Engagement in the development of better ECDCs: data from the focus group discussions

Even though it was very difficult to get caregivers to participate in the study their input is relevant to the study. Families in distress are usually isolated and do not have many networks within the community and community is important for the positive development of children (Shan, Muhajarine, Lopton & Jeffery, 2012). Communities are made up of caregivers so if there is a lack of care from caregivers it means the community are neglecting their children. The caregivers who participated had a vested interest in the wellbeing and development of their children. They were very helpful and friendly, but very afraid of sounding un-intelligent and it took a lot of engagement with the parents to open up about their expectations and hopes for the development of their children.

It was evident during the interviews that the caregivers thought that too little has been done for their children by government as is demonstrated in the quotations below:

“We expected that the government will create a safe environment for our children. But we also take responsibility as parents - many mothers do not want to accept that their children are involved in gang activities” [Focus Group Discussion 3].

“None of us here thinks that the environment supports the positive development for children” [Focus Group Discussion 4].

“We need the centres to play a bigger role in developing our children for school adequately, without compromising on the quality of education” [Focus Group Discussion 2].

“We want better, green areas where the children can play and build good childhood memories. We know these centres are not financially secure enough for us to expect great facilities. We also cannot pay for it, but we still desire for our children to have a good and safe environment” [Focus Group Discussion 1].

Since these communities were historically neglected by the apartheid government (Atmore, 2012) and subsequently not helped much by the post-apartheid government, it is not entirely unfounded that these parents expect some major interventions from government to alleviate the plight of the communities plagued by violence and substance abuse. Children need a safe, healthy and stable environment to thrive and reach their potential (Van Ham, Maley, Maclennan, Bailey & Simpson, 2012; Shan *et al.* 2012; Woden, 2016), but the environment in the Cape Flats has created a dangerous state of moral decay and corrosion of values. Here is a response suggesting how unsafe the environment is and why they chose the crèche:

“The crèche is close by for what goes on in our communities if we need to come and fetch our children quickly if there is trouble” [Focus Group Discussion 3].

Here are responses to the impact the environment have on children due to a lack of community involvement:

“You get mothers saying stuff like ‘My child does not shoot people’ - they don’t want to say their children are involved with the gangs” [Focus Group Discussion 1].

“When children tell stories about the gangs and shooting at home, the parents come and jump down the teacher’s throat without finding out what really happened” [Focus Group Discussion 4].

“Parents do things at home in front of their children and the children come and tell it at the crèche and they swear. The other day my daughter came and told us a story from another child with such bad language. And my husband was so upset. He said I should go and speak to the crèche people. The children swear because they hear it at home and they think it is normal. Then they speak like that at the crèche and then all the children hear that language and they think it’s cool to talk like that” [Focus Group Discussion 3].

4.3.3 Caregivers’ understanding of the impact of the environment

It has been demonstrated in the literature review that ECD is a crucial foundation for youth development (Young, 2002) in order to adopt positive social attitudes needed for healthy community development (Christens & Peterson, 2011). One of the major themes emerging from the focus group discussions was that the parents/guardians/caregivers lamented the fact that many children were not allowed

to play outside their dwellings or ECDCs because of the danger of violence, one respondent explained:

“When I was a child living here, we could play games like soccer, cricket and other sports in the streets. We did not have soccer fields, or parks or cricket pitches, but we made do. We were safe playing in the streets, because neighbours would watch over the children. Our mothers could send us to the corner shop without fearing that we would become victims of gang violence or even worse. Today all of us with teenagers fear that they will be recruited by the gangs” [Focus Group Discussion 2].

The deteriorating social fibre of these communities place a bigger burden on these caregivers (many of them single mothers) who rely on ECDCs to play a vital role in their young child's life so that they can either go to work or seek employment in order to take care of their children. This sense of being trapped in a community where the environment evokes fear as well as hope permeated the focus group discussions. On the one hand, the fear of exposing their children to a violent society and losing them to a world of gangs and drugs, gives them a sense of helplessness. On the other hand, there is hope for a better future that undergirds their desire to send their children to an ECDC where they can be safe and developed. In an area like Uitsig, it was immediately evident to the researcher that the area is unsafe due to gang violence and is also aesthetically unappealing with burned copper debris all over the sidewalks and spilling over into the street. These caregivers know that these are elements which might have a negative impact on the development of their children and it makes intervention strategies so much more important as is demonstrated in the quotations below:

“We are grateful for the ECDCs, but we worry that there are not enough government-subsidised centres available” [Focus Group Discussion 1].

“We parents mostly choose an ECDC that is closest to home or is most affordable. You see many parents here are unemployed and rely on the

monthly child care grant to pay the crèche fees. Many mothers in Uitsig are desperately seeking employment and go and get a temporary job with the local EPWP” [Focus Group Discussion 3].

“Parents or guardians here do not have the educational qualifications to apply for professional work. Many are teenaged mothers who did not complete secondary school. They had to quit school to take care of their children. Many of the teenaged mothers are also addicted to drugs and abandon their children. This forces the grandparents to become the primary caregivers of their grandchildren. Grandparents in these communities act as surrogate’ parents to sometimes more than one of their grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Many of these grandparents rely on their pensioner’s social grant to support them and then they still have to care for their grandchildren without benefitting from the child care grant as the mothers claim it for themselves” [Focus Group Discussion 2].

One of the focus group discussants from Ravensmead shared with the group that she has to care for the daughter of her foster daughter who is a drug addict and HIV-positive. The foster daughter lives with her and her husband as her daughter’s father is in prison. The history of this young woman is typical of many young women in the Cape Flats where child neglect and abuse have become part of the moral decay. It has become a struggle for grandparents to take care of themselves as well as their grandchildren without any support from government, as some respondents explained:

“To be honest, many of us send our grandchildren to the ECDCs so that they get at least one nutritious meal a day and to be safe from their drug-addicted parents” [Focus Group Discussion 3].

“We are substitute parents, so we fear every day that these children have a slim chance of reaching their full potential. But the ECDCs create an opportunity for the children to be children and to play and learn in a safe environment, away from the hostility of violence and drugs” [Focus Group Discussion 2].

There is still today too many children who are harmed by their parents and it is important to understand what impact maltreatment has on the child's ecological development (Scannapieco & Cornell-Carrick, 2005). These caregivers themselves need interventions, however, they might not have the skills to explain their needs to government officials and non-governmental institutions nor how to request the necessary and appropriate assistance. The relationships within families have a direct impact on children's ability to network in their communities and family involvement is important in a child's development (Bronfenbrenner, 1989), so for grandparents to send children to an ECDC to keep them out of harm's way could be seen as a cry for help. ECDCs play an important role to some of the vulnerable members of the community and it also relates to the research problem if investing in ECDCs does establish social cohesion and responsible citizenship and youth resilience. Here are a few comments made by participants regarding grandparents taking care of grandchildren and the state some children arrives at the ECDC:

"This child doesn't even call her mother mommy, she calls me mommy, the mother is involved with other people - bad people" [Focus Group Discussion 1].

"Mr X is one of the grandfathers who passed away and I don't know what is going to happen to all those grandchildren of his he had to look after. His one daughter had five children and she would take the support money and he had to take care of all the children. He said he sends the kids to crèche, then at least he knows they are safe there. Government talk about not abusing old people but isn't this also abusing old people? That poor man is old and has to take care of his grandchildren - that stress about worrying is too much" [Focus Group Discussion 2].

"One of the children, when he started here I wanted to take photos because I thought the child was being abused. So I told the mother that I will have them arrested for child abuse and now you must see how fat the child is and so adorable" [Personal Interview 3].

4.4 RESULTS FROM THE INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS WITH ECDC MANAGERS

4.4.1 Introduction

Standing (2003: 1) notes that “*Cape Town provides one of the most vivid examples of urban crisis attributed to late modern capitalism. It is a city of stark contrasts and social fragmentation – built first on the policies of apartheid and now seemingly exacerbated by the dynamics of a marketised economy*”. In this study, the disadvantage of children born to parents facing long term unemployment was obvious in the field observations, the focus group discussions and the face-to-face interviews with the managers of the sampled ECDCs. With limited spaces for enrolment at available ECDCs and the centres themselves having insufficient space (especially for outside play), it is very difficult to find secure environments for many of these children to develop.

The legacy of ECDCs in predominantly white urban residential areas receiving more funding and better infrastructure has not been reversed (Evans, Myers & Ilfeld, 2000). Most of the centres came to fruition due to a need for working professionals like nurses, teachers and police women in the Coloured communities to leave their children when they go to work. They were the few people who could afford day-care in a community of mostly poor and working class members.

Ravensmead is a community that had to deal with some of the most gang-related violence and murders. For example, at the time of data gathering a school boy was decapitated in Ravensmead as a result of suspected gang retaliations. Parents who are able to do so now send their children to ECDCs located in more affluent communities. Uitsig has the highest Tuberculosis infection rate and also has to deal with gang violence. Elsies River, like Ravensmead and Uitsig, has to deal with gang violence and substance abuse (World Health Organization, 2013). Communities like these have to deal with the psychological and emotional trauma of their daily exposure to violence. This creates a state of living in fear and being confined to their dwelling in

order to stay out of harm's way. Anecdotal evidence from some of the participants points out this reality:

"The shootings are so bad you hear it constantly even during the day in Uitsig that's why our children can't play outside but I want my children to play outside they cannot spend the whole day in the house" [Focus Group Discussion 3].

"It is the drugs the children are using. Drugs and the Tik damage their brains. Then they steal to buy tik. The gangster are younger nowadays - they are still children, gangs recruit them young. They rob and hurt people for drug money. It makes them crazy. The girls who use tik are no better, they walk around late at night and sit in the shebeen's yards" [Focus Group Discussion 4].

4.4.2 Needs of ECD centres

The following themes emerged from the interviews with the managers: 1) safety; 2) resources; 3) involvement and 4) training. These themes are supported in literature by Flanagan and Christens (2011) in their description of what social responsibilities entails. These managers and their centres have a responsibility towards the children entrusted into their care and the caregivers who trust them with their children. To develop a social relationship not only with the children but the caregivers too, reinforces moral values essential to the positive development of children into adolescence. In this regard, one of the managers opined:

"The responsibility of managing an ECDC has moved away from the model of the traditional day-care centres...today it's more about developmental centres. This means a shared responsibility towards the child's physical and emotional safety during the day. This responsibility can be hampered by the lack of resources, parent involvement and specialised training" [Personal Interview 1].

In the following sections, the four main themes that emerged from the interviews are discussed and analysed in greater detail.

4.4.2.1 Safety

Berry *et al.* (2011: 22) describe a relationship between prevention and early intervention in ECD that includes “*ensuring safety and protection of children and the prevention of harmful situations*”. The online Crime Statistics for 2016 (Stats SA, 2016) indicates burglaries at non-residential premises in Ravensmead and Elsies River as 354 reported cases. All other theft in the statistics report is at 2 675 and this was only six months into the year. The managers mentioned they have to inform the police department of burglaries and to them it seems that police are not monitoring the centres as they have to manage other violent crimes. One of them mentioned:

“A more direct intervention strategy by the South African Police Services might also ensure that the centres are not targeted as easy prey” [Personal Interview 3].

The ECDCs in Elsies River have installed video cameras to monitor the premises and to control access to the premises. This resource had to be funded by the centre, but it is a necessity in the area as they witnessed a gang shooting right in front of the centre. Once again it highlights the threat of violence in the environment of the child in the Cape Flats. Standing (2003) states that 97% of children in the Cape Flats have heard gunshots and most have seen a dead body by the time they reach 15 years of age. Places like churches and ECDCs are soft targets for burglaries and vandalism. Most of the centres in Ravensmead have been burglarised frequently to such a degree that they barely have toys left to help with motor-sensory stimulation and development in young children. This constant threat of burglaries makes investment in the centres a burden as stolen items must be replaced and vandalised items repaired. For many unregistered centres, funds are scarce and they have sacrificed some things in order to make ends meet. One respondent said:

“Children’s physical well-being is very important as their psychological well-being relies on their sense of security” [Personal Interview 2].

It would benefit the relationship between managers and parents/guardians/caregivers if the latter can confidently claim the centres as safe spaces for the development of their children (Pitchford & Henderson, 2008). If parents take ownership of these spaces, they can protect the centres from theft and vandalism. One of them mentioned:

“Parents have to tell when their children are doing wrong things, but the mothers say it is not their children, they even go testify that their children are not doing bad things. This one mother, when the police accused her son of being a hitman for a gang, she said it’s not true because her child doesn’t even have one gang tattoo. So they told her son to remove the armband on his arm and they showed the mother the gang tattoo which she never saw as he always wore the armband. And she was shocked to learn who her son really was. It is our own children who do these things, but we do not want to admit it. We always say no not my child, until something happens then we want to blame other people or we ask why isn’t government doing anything” [Focus Group Discussion 4].

There seems to be a contrast in understanding responsibility and accountability when it comes to the community and how to ensure safe spaces for their children. Focus Group Four wants parents to take responsibility and Focus Group Three thinks that government should ask them what they should do and obtain the community’s approval for all interventions. This is a response from a member:

“I think community development is when, for example, they want to close the crèche they must first ask the people what we think” [Focus Group Discussion 3].

4.4.2.2 Resources

The centres in Ravensmead are grossly under-resourced due to lack of funding. For example, ECDC One is utilising classrooms at a primary school which has no electricity. Instead, they make use of gas stoves to prepare warm beverages or meals. There is also a lack of green space to stimulate positive development through play. There is a need for more educational toys and stationery to cater for the needs of all children.

One of the centres in the sample had a little boy who is autistic, but because his parents prefer that he is mainstreamed with other children, he is at a centre where there is no referral or special care for someone with his developmental problems. The manager explained:

“It is important that ECDCs should be fully resourced for children with special needs like autism. This is especially important in our communities where such children may not be diagnosed early enough to give them the correct support” [Personal Interview 4].

Infrastructure upgrades and maintenance would help in minimising the expenses of the daily operational funds. One manager said:

“We need a bigger premise to accommodate expansion and growth, especially in this community where the population is rapidly growing. We see many adult children moving in with their parents or setting up a Wendy house in their yard. Some of the children who attend our centre are from households where there are more than two families living in one house, so there are more children per household and there is a need for more child care centres or for the expansion of the established centres” [Personal Interview 2].

Another frequently-mentioned concern was about ECDCs being sufficiently child-friendly and welcoming to the community. In an attempt to ensure this, one of the sampled centres started a small vegetable patch at the time of data-gathering. In this regard the manager explained:

“I think that it will be great if we have space to increase the vegetable garden. Then we can encourage the community to participate in subsistence farming. And they can then teach their children about growing their own food sources. This will contribute and encourage the preparation of healthy meals for children during the day, or even create a small income from selling fresh produce” [Personal Interview 4].

Another of the sampled centres planned to completely demolish and rebuild the concrete play area to make it safer for children to play.

The quality of investment in ECD centres has a direct impact on the development of children (Siraj-Blatchford, Taggart, Sylva, Sammons & Melhuish, 2008). In this regard, all of the interviewees mentioned that their centres do not have enough capital for annual maintenance. All of them suggested greater involvement of the community to ease the financial burden. However, the income status and employment of the parents in the community are dire and such financial involvement seems impossible. One responded said:

“We can only get a subsidy if we are registered and for that we need a lease agreement and the principal only wants to give us a one year lease agreement” [Personal Interview 2].

“The parents who can afford it are the ones who do not pay, but if they have to take their children to a crèche in the white area they have to pay so much more” [Personal Interview 3].

The City official's response to government's contribution to ECDC is contradictory to what the managers of the ECDC understand. Her response with regard to funding was as follows:

“My understanding of registration is: for the protection of children's right to a decent education; subsidy is not guaranteed if you are registered; it is subject to the funds available; but it is to ensure quality ECD services to the community. The subsidy is R15 per child per day – from this money 40% must be spent on nutrition; 40% on educational material and 20% on administration” [Personal Interview 6].

4.4.2.3 Community and Parental Involvement

Bronfenbrenner (1989) states that the involvement of parents and communities is very important to the development of children. All of the managers interviewed in this study spontaneously mentioned the importance of participation by the parents/guardians/caregivers and the community to ensure the success of the centres. As one of them suggested:

“The commitment and involvement of caregivers and the community will create better centres and fruitful child and community development. Institutions like schools can promote youth development. But it all starts with ECDCs that promote early childhood development and the best support ECDCs need is that of caregivers” [Personal Interview 3].

Some of the managers suggested that investing emotionally, physically and financially in ECD should not be a top-down approach, but instead be based on participation. This view is supported in the literature by Standing (2003), Siraj-Blatchford *et al.* (2008), Evers *et al.*, (2000) and Hyson and Tomlinson (2014). However, they did not foresee such participation as a naturally-occurring response, for example one respondent said:

“The reality is that if the community and the caregivers do not take ownership of their children’s ECDCs, then they are exposing their children to the daily threats on the Cape Flats. A community that stands together and understands the role that commitment and engagement play in the building blocks of moral and social values, can have a united front against the decline in social values within that community. After all, the very first learning experience that a child has, is from its parents and the family unit. This is where they learn their values form. And this is where these values are being nurtured. These values are further developed by interaction with others at the centre during the day. But we need to regard the home and the centre as complementing one another and this is where involvement and participation come in” [Personal Interview 2].

Disadvantaged parents might have a different view of their role in preparing their children for school and society (Keun, 2013). In order to create a society that have the ability to facilitate positive change and social cohesiveness, engagement in communities in a professional manner will contribute to sustainable development. People are willing participants of their circumstances and to ensure positive change, action has to be encouraged to bring about the change. Inaction is the reason why these communities are trapped in a cycle of poverty and violence. Communities can start by establishing small street committees to monitor any criminal activities in their street which can engage with community neighbourhood watches. These community neighbourhood watch groups can liaise with churches and ECDCs to create a loop system that can extend and include other stakeholders, like the Welfare department and Police department, to help to create a stable environment.

4.4.2.4 Training

It is very important that children’s cognitive, language, physical and social skills are developed during the early years (Sayre, Devercelli, Neuman & Wodon, 2015). In order to ensure that the best development occurs during these early stages of child

development, the centres must employ staff able to achieve the goal of successful development of all these stages that will contribute to a child reaching his/her full potential. It is therefore very important to the managers that their staff get enough and continuous training. In this regard, two of the managers acknowledged the role of government perform in this regard, but suggested that government should do more when it comes to ECDCs on the Cape Flats. In this regard, one mentioned:

“For me the ideal situation would be where the government gives the necessary resource support – just as it does with schools – for filling all vacancies with qualified teachers. Most of the managers have no background in early childhood development and only got involved in these centres as a way of employment or through community involvement” [Personal Interview 1].

An interesting contrast with this is the manager at ECDC Two. She is a retired teacher and the centre benefits from her years of experience and her background in teaching. Despite this, the researcher found it strange that none of the teachers at this centre can speak any other languages besides Afrikaans and English. All of them claimed that Afrikaans is their mother tongue, but English is the language in which they teach. Teachers can perhaps attend language classes to learn isiXhosa for example, as this is the home language of some of the children attending this centre.

Most of the managers knew that parents/guardians/caregivers have expectations that the centre would offer more than a mere play group or afternoon naps. They expect educational development to occur. As one respondent proffered:

“Caregivers in professional jobs expect that the centre will help their children to become socially well-equipped and educationally ready to go to a good primary school to attend Grade R. These caregivers hold the centres and the teachers responsible for their children’s development” [Personal Interview 2].

However, with a lack of sufficiently trained staff, these expectations are unlikely to be met. At some of the centres in the sample, the researcher found volunteers who help out with child-minding tasks. Such volunteers were all unemployed and untrained in ECD, yet they often stood in for absent teachers. In addition, the lack of skilled staff for bookkeeping and budgeting, educational psychologists and dietitians were obvious. Even volunteer cooks had no formal training in the dietary requirements for children.

4.4.2 Summary of the findings from the of focus group and personal interviews

The researcher discovered that most of the managers in Ravensmead barely generated enough funds to pay rent for their premises or to cover operational expenses. This makes it even more difficult for them to employ and pay suitably qualified staff. In fact, working with unqualified or volunteer staff was articulated as the first option for a cost-saving strategy. If one considers that the government offers free training at FET Colleges on ECD Levels 1, 4 and 5 for unqualified or under-qualified ECD practitioners via the EPWP, then this does not really make sense.

The researcher also discovered that most of the managers in the sample lacked managerial skills. Most of them started off having small, at-home crèches and then ended up with managing a large centre that has to comply with legislation. From this one can conclude that these managers have to deal with more than what they are qualified for and able to. During the interviews, all of the managers expressed awareness of these challenges and all of them looked to the government to address the problem of poorly qualified staff, lack of training of ECDC managers, upgrading of sites and equipment and creating a stable, safe and positive external environment. There is a sense of dependency when one listens to the managers and parents; they seem to be waiting on government to help. However, they did not have business plans to make the centres self-sustainable. None of the centres applied to the National Lottery for a donation or engaged with any non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to assist with funding:

“We sometimes get donations from companies but not all the time”
[Personal Interview 4].

“We had a foreign student who was researching on the ECDCs around here and he said we need lots of help” [Personal Interview 3].

Government officials work through the community forums in Ravensmead, Uitsig and Elsie's River to manage these ECDCs and it was discovered that some of the unregistered centres (that is, the centres are registered with the state, but not with the community forums) consequently did not receive urgent assistance. At the same time, the dedication and devotion to children displayed by these centres are their biggest assets which can be used as a catalyst to turn around the dire conditions that their centres are currently in. All of the managers interviewed had a basic understanding of the importance of ECD and its potential impact on the community. Moreover, all of them regarded their own development as important. Here are some of the responses:

“We teach the children about hygiene, washing your hands and it is very important that children know they have to wash their hands before they eat or after they used the toilet, some of these children don't know these things when they start at the crèche for the first time” [Personal Interview 1].

“You have to keep in mind we have lots of diseases and we have to be careful. Some of the children's parents are HIV positive, we don't tell anyone, but we have to be careful with the children so that no one can discriminate against them. I don't like it when people treat children badly. We have to protect the children. Here they can play and be normal kids. And we try and make sure they eat and stay healthy. This one mother sends her baby with two Huggies (disposable diapers) and two bottles for the whole day. That isn't right. How can a baby only have one bottle of milk and one bottle of tea for a whole day? And do you know how many times you have to change a baby's nappy? It isn't right to treat children like that. We want to make sure babies are safe and healthy, but how can you leave your child like that?”
[Personal Interview 3].

“Here we teach the children about respect for others. They come from homes where they think that swearing is normal, so I am very strict about that. We had one boy here who used to fight and swear at the kids. So I made him sit in the office with me until he learned that his behaviour is unacceptable. We are here to give children a better foundation before they go to school so that the children can be well prepared for school” [Personal Interview 4].

From the reported literature review (see Chapter 2) it has been found that a holistic approach to child development should be adopted. The interviews revealed that although most of the managers said that they want to prepare children for school, they also devote a lot of time to physical care (food, disposable nappies, safety during the day, naptimes, correcting bad habits). There seems to be a sense of disconnection between the execution of the role and function of registered ECDC and the role of day-care facilities. Most of the managers want to create school readiness, but they have to struggle with daily challenges of child-minding and care. The researcher found no supporting evidence that the children are in fact school-ready once they reach Grade R. Moreover, it seems the centres are chosen because of proximity and affordability.

4.5 INTERVIEW WITH A LOCAL GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL

4.5.1 Introduction

In the third phase of data collection, the researcher interviewed a representative of the local government in order to form a complete picture of how all stakeholders understand the importance of ECD. The previous two data collection phases revealed that parents/guardians/caregivers and ECDCs managers regard government intervention and assistance as key solutions to the problems of ECD in the study area. Very soon after the proposal for this study had been approved by the University, the researcher contacted the city official responsible for ECD in the City of Cape Town’s Social Development Department. He was very helpful in providing contact details and a list of ECDCs in the research areas. However, at the time of data collection when all

the focus group interviews had been completed, this particular official was transferred to a different department and the researcher was unable to schedule an interview with him.

Instead, the researcher contacted his replacement. This official immediately agreed to an appointment for the following day. The purpose of the study was briefly discussed with her and the questionnaire emailed to her so that she could prepare for the interview. Unfortunately, her workstation was in an open-plan office and the noise was disruptive. This first interview was then followed up with an e-mailed questionnaire.

According to this interviewee, there were twenty unregistered, eleven registered centres and a further seven centres in the process of registration. However, in the sampled areas, the researcher found only one centre in Uitsig and in Elsies River that was up to date with its registration. When asked to help explain this discrepancy, the official suggested that her formal documentation of registration did not fully match the geographical areas covered in the study. It would seem that many of the ECDCs in the study area falls into a grey zone in which their registration status is uncertain and so too is the line of responsibility of local government able to provide both oversight and support (financial, training, staffing, etc.).

The researcher asked the interviewee what benefits registration held for these ECDCs and she replied:

“You have to look at the Children’s Act which states that registration is to protect children’s rights to a decent education. At the very least a registered centre is subject to assessment by the local authority to ensure decent standards of the structure, health and safety. This, in turn, safeguards these basic requirements at the centre through registration. Subsidy is not guaranteed if the centre is registered, but it can qualify for any available funds to ensure quality ECD services to the community”

The researcher found it surprising that the interviewee only focussed on immediate, procedural and subsidy gains to be had from registration of an ECDC instead of articulating a wider educational goal related to improved educational attainment levels and cognitive development. The researcher followed this up with a question about her understanding of possible reasons why some centres never register. Her response is as follows:

There are many registration challenges, especially related to zoning and land use. Also, the time frames for managers to respond to the various departments are not well coordinated and then many centres are left not complying with standards set for these facilities.”

The researcher found in contrast that all of the managers in this study experienced applying for registration stressful, but pushed ahead with it anyway in the hope that it will enable access to funding and support from the government. It would be beneficial if local government could find local solutions to the community's needs in order to create a sustainable platform for community development and “*improving quality of life*” (De Beer & Swanepoel, 2000: 99). There was a pervasive misconception that government would be more supportive once the centres are registered. Interviewing the city representative, however, indicated that there is not as much support as the centres were hoping for. It would be in government's best interest to rather encourage the local centres to participate in understanding the policies and engaging on matters like policy development. Not understanding the policies and how it will impact on the centres and ultimately the community in future could be detrimental to sustainable community development. This has an impact on social cohesion in communities which have a negative impact on development (De Beer & Swanepoel 2000: 19).

4.5.2 Consultation with the community about ECDCs

One of the objectives of this study was to determine if any consultation occurs between the community and the government when it comes to ECD services. In this regard, the interviewee suggested:

“The City only gets involved on request from centres, or sometimes when people complain to the Mayor of Cape Town. They do work with local ECD forums by providing training for the ECDCs.”

This seems to be a passive and reactive stance to consultation, rather than a proactive one. Upon further probing, the interviewee informed the researcher of four indicators of engagement used in official reporting. They are:

- I. Assistance with basic material to enable statutory registration and compliance, such as mattresses, blankets, tables and chairs;
- II. Training of ECD practitioners regarding the national ECD norms and standards for managing ECDCs and facilities. This also includes annual first aid training to ECD practitioners in level 1 and the recruitment of people to participate in the ECD forum;
- III. Supporting ECD Forums through capacity-building training and training in administrative skills;
- IV. Implementing awareness campaigns through ECD registration open days when officials are available at a central point for one-on-one consultations, providing information regarding the registration process and conducting follow-up visits to centres.

It seems insufficient involvement or support which will hardly create a solid structured system for ECDCs. Government cannot become involved only when asked.

When questioned about resource allocation, the interviewee made reference to the City of Cape Town’s educational toolkit and their basic allocation template. When following up with other City officials, the researcher discovered there is no formal toolkit, but what was referred to is a culmination of the needs of the centres and the engagement with some NGOs. The toolkit is a basic needs assessment of centres as indicated below in Table 4.1. It is evidently very sparse and does not really include a holistic approach to ECD. In Table 4.2, a copy of the basic allocation template can be seen. It stresses characteristics such as a constitution and operational management

structure, training of the staff and active participation in the local ECD forum. This template should ideally be further developed in full consultation with the ECD managers and a group of caregivers/parents/guardians to reflect a fuller ambit of issues that would support a comprehensive ECDC.

Table 4.1: Educational Toolkit

Request from centres	Description of request	Allocation
When a centre requests assistance with resources to comply with registration, the official has to determine the needs of the centre.	Matrasses, table, chairs etc.	The amount would be determined by the number of children/enrolments
When a centre requests stationery for the children.	Puzzles, age-appropriate games, etc.	The official has to determine the level of training of the practitioner
When a centre requests fire extinguishers	The relevant amount of fire extinguishers	The practitioner has to go for Level 1 fire extinguishing training

Source: Adapted from various discussions

Table 4.2: The City of Cape Town's basic allocation template



SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND EARLY CHILDHOOD DEVELOPMENT
DIRECTORATE
"Invest in ECD to build a Caring City"

BASIC CRITERIA FOR THE ALLOCATION OF RESOURCES TO ECD CENTRES

Name of ECD Centre:

Address:

Name and contact details of Principal:.....

Please tick the appropriate box	Yes	No
Evidence that the ECD Centre has been operational for one year (children's tuition enrolment records).		
Have a functional management structure in place.		
Have a signed Constitution.		
Have an ECD daily programme but lacks appropriate equipment to deliver a quality ECD programme as per the National ECD Norms and Standards.		
Registered as an NPO with the Department of Social Development.		
Conditionally registered/fully registered with the Department of Social Development Provincial Government as a partial care facility.		
Active participation as a member of the local ECD Forum.		
Have at least one qualified NQF ECD Practitioner.		
Lacks an accredited First Aid Kit.		
Have at least one trained personnel (level 1) accredited First Aid Course.		
Sign a beneficiary/acknowledgment form (monitoring and evaluation).		

District:

Signature of District Official:

Date of Receipt:

Signature of Principal:

Source: Adapted from City of Cape Town ECD Centre Registration Compliance (City of Cape Town, 2017)

4.5.3 ECDC and Community Development

When questioned about the possible intersection between ECD and community development, the interviewee replied:

“In my opinion the members of the community know nothing about community development. Because if they did, they would have expanded their ECD services to include the children of unemployed parents and to provide an ECD service to the whole community. I think that people are aware of ECD, but I have not seen any real facilitation of learning happening in the centres.”

This view stands in sharp contrast to the evidence gathered from the focus group interviews and the face-to-face interviews where it was found that most of the parents/guardians/caregivers are unemployed. Moreover, it seems to convey the view that people are imbued with a natural gift for community development without any help. What was witnessed at the sample centres and in the focus group discussions as well as in the face-to-face interviews, was a desperate struggle for the most basic of child care arrangements. As the City of Cape Town is tasked with oversight of EDC services in the area, this passive attitude can be regarded as a failure on the side of local government to respond to urgent needs in the community. It also implies that there is an urgent need for local government to deploy trainers or community developers to the centres for fact-finding, training and reporting back to the City of Cape Town.

The researcher asked the respondent to offer her opinion as to how the community feels about ECD. She responded:

“I think that they are passionate about ECD because they see and experience child neglect on a daily basis. These communities are victims of substance abuse, unemployment, crime, school drop-out, absent fathers, low literacy levels, teenage pregnancies, child-headed household, single

parent households, poverty, orphans and grandparents taking responsibilities for their grandchildren. So ECDCs have become a source of income for those who look after children when single mothers are seeking employment. Community participation only happens when incentivised in the form of food or anything that benefits them. There is a sense of entitlement from the community. “

The researcher was taken aback by this apparent negative attitude towards the community as passive recipients of hand-outs by local government and as victims of their circumstances. When further probing for possible corrective actions from the City of Cape Town, the respondent reiterated the provision of free first aid and capacity training to the centres and the role of the forums. She regarded these as generous benefits to the community from the ECD programmes. After further probing, she suggested that Prof Eric Atmore was doing research on alternative ECDCs and that the City is engaging with him, but the researcher could not verify this.

When questioned about the role of the environment in ECD, the respondent opined:

“I think that a child’s neighbourhood plays a big role in its development. In this community this means poor parenting, lack of knowledge for early childhood milestones as well as poor bonding between mothers/caregivers, family violence, discord or a breakdown of the family structure, children subjected to physical, emotional, sexual abuse, neglect and children living in extreme poverty”.

The researcher asked the interviewee to outline the future plans of the City for ECDC. She responded as follows:

“The City wants to assist the ECDCs with the necessary information to become compliant so that they can provide quality ECD services to all children. As such, the City of Cape Town would like to implement capacity-

building programmes to improve the management of the ECDCs so that the community can benefit from that.”

The researcher shared with the interviewee her impression that formal and informal ECDCs were increasing rapidly in the area and that unregistered ECDCs could pose a risk to the articulated plan that ECDCs can benefit the community. She responded:

“Both forms of ECD provision occur in any area where people see a gap to make money. Most of the people who start an ECD facility do not have any training and the children are exposed to severe abuse, for example being housed in a warehouse.”

In both the interview and the e-mailed questionnaire the researcher was left with the impression that the interviewee based her responses on personal assumptions unchecked by visits to the areas or ECDCs. It should be taken into consideration that at the time of the data gathering this official was newly appointed in the post. Trying to understand her motivations better, the researcher asked her what her basic philosophy was. She replied that she based her worldview on the Quran. The researcher respects the religious convictions of the interviewee, yet would have expected greater sensitivity to the plight of the different stakeholders.

4.6 COMMON THEMES EMERGING FROM ALL THREE PHASES OF DATA COLLECTION

Apart from opinions on changes needed in ECD (which is presented as a separate section in this chapter), four common themes emerged across the three phases of data collection. They are on the role of caregivers in ECD, lack of resources for ECD, the contribution of different stakeholders to the success of ECD in the study area and the impact of ECD on the community. Each of these four themes is discussed in greater detail below.

4.6.1 The role of the caregivers

It emerged from the focus group discussions that the parents/guardians/caregivers remain hopeful that the government will intervene in their current situation. For example, it was mentioned in Focus Group 1 that:

“This area is no place to raise children. We fear for our children’s lives every day and for our own. We struggle to make ends meet. Many of us are unemployed or fall in the low income bracket. So we cannot afford to move away from the violence or to send our children to ECDCs outside the community.”

De Beer and Swanepoel (2000: 12) refer to this as a “deprivation trap” - a cluster of disadvantages; *“the household is poor, the household is physically weak, the household is isolated, the household is vulnerable and the household is powerless”*. All of the focus group discussion participants were mothers first, but also very much aware that they are part of the community and therefore they have to take responsibility for their community. At the same time, it was mentioned that some parents refuse to acknowledge that their children are part of gangs and thus also responsible for the violence that threatens the safety of their children. The researcher discovered that some of the mothers volunteer at the centres when they become unemployed.

Focus group interviews with parents/guardians/caregivers found that they are worried that if the government does not intervene, their children will not get the quality ECD they are hoping for. They are all grateful for what the centres offer and the work the managers do, but they know much more is needed to be done in order for the centres to be rated as good centres. Here are some of the responses:

“We do our best with what we have and every time when the thieves break in and steal and break stuff it sets us back” [Personal Interview 2].

“Government only cares about BEE (Black Economic Empowerment), only they get funds or participation from government, there is a lack of development and support and the City of Cape Town must stick to 60% SA citizens” [Focus Group Discussion 3].

The City official expressed the opinion that the ECDCs do not execute their objective of teaching young children. Here is her response:

“They know their real issues. For me I haven’t seen real facilitation of learning in an ECDC. People also forget that their job is to teach children how to learn and to ensure that the children reach their full potential” [Personal Interview 6].

4.6.2 The lack of resources and the impact it has on the quality of ECD

Atmore, van Niekerk & Ashley-Cooper (2012: 10) says that the *“infrastructure in ECD settings includes the building, ground and learning materials”*. However, the researcher found that most of the ECDCs in the sample area had very little to show in terms of learning materials and educational toys. Most also struggle to obtain a permanent lease for the buildings they occupy. ECDC One and Two are in a very poor state with regards to basic resources like electricity and running water. This poses a risk to the health of the children. A simple interaction such as teaching children basic hand washing becomes difficult in such a situation. Only one centre had proper play equipment to stimulate motor skills. The playground at the centre in Ravensmead was located far away from the classrooms.

Regular burglaries at the centres in Ravensmead meant that even the scarce toys and stationery that they had were gone and could not be replaced due to a lack of funds. Although all of the centres in the sample area had a basic stationery list that each parent has to provide upon enrolment, most parents could not afford to buy these required stationery. The centres received mattresses from the City of Cape Town, but

it is not enough to afford each child with his own mattress and children sometimes slept two or three per mattress during nap time. Here are some responses:

“We received some mattresses from the City of Cape Town, but as you can see we have quite a few children, so we share it” [Personal Interview 1].

“Nothing is safe; the druggies break in - steal the stationery - we buy for the children and then what must happen? The children don’t have anything and we don’t have money to buy new stuff” [Focus Group Discussion 2].

The response from the City official on the matter was:

“We normally provide the educational toolkit to deserving ECD centres based on the indicator number 1 and the basic resource allocation template. The future plans of the City of Cape Town are to assist the ECD centres with the necessary information to become compliant so that they can provide quality ECD services to all children. The City of Cape Town would like to implement capacity building programmes to improve the management of the ECD centres that the community can benefit” [Personal Interview 6].

4.6.3 The contributions of stakeholders to ECD

It is important to identify all the stakeholders when researching the impact of ECD. ECD programmes can only be successful if all the stakeholders regard it as important and there is sustained engagement and participation. In this regard, the community is the custodians of the wellbeing of their children, whereas the government is responsible for protecting its citizens and the private sector should invest in an educated workforce that will secure a sustainable economy. The City official mentioned support for ECDs in the form of training in capacity building and first aid. However, the research suggests that most managers were heavily reliant on financial support and funding from external sources. Here are typical responses:

“We ask for donations at factories. We have received some yoghurts from one factory and a man who made burglar bars installed the burglar bars for us. But the big factories say they donate to areas in the other parts, which means not for our communities. We are also having our debutant ball to raise funds. It helps with the teachers’ salaries” [Personal Interview 1].

“The old government would give us thirty thousand rand which helped a lot. Now we have to register and then we do not even get that much. We have to hold fundraising events to raise funds. So, I want to know if you would like to make a donation to our braai?” [Personal Interview 3].

4.6.4 The impact of ECD programmes

From the focus group interviews it emerged that the parents/guardians/caregivers are aware of the value of ECD programmes in their communities and linked this to the development of their children. For maximum cognitive results, it is better to have “two years of high quality preschool programmes than one” according to the *South African Early Child Review* (2017: 34). The caregivers shared this view and discussed the opinion that ECD programmes can help prepare their children better for formal schooling. The managers equally expressed views that they need further training to ensure that what they offer is more than mere babysitting or custodial care for children. Both of these groups expressed the view that the government should do more with regard to ECD programmes besides merely focusing on the registration of centres. The state’s role was articulated as ensuring that these centres are equipped with the needed resources and skilled teachers.

4.7 PARTICIPANTS' OPINIONS OF CHANGES NEEDED IN ECD

4.7.1 Managers' opinions of the need for change in ECD

The managers revealed to the researcher that they need a tangible commitment from government to assist them in creating a perfect environment for ECD. In their opinion, the government only plays an oversight role at present and should instead become an active participant in ensuring that the ECDCs have the capacity to execute their tasks. The managers are confident they would be able to create a stable, conducive environment if ECDCs get the same support that primary schools currently get from the government. They mentioned examples like making more land available to erect permanent buildings for ECDCs, the provision of subsidies to maintain buildings and playgrounds, improving safety in and around centres and regular upgrading of teaching resources. Here are some responses:

"We need the subsidy to help with the crèche, but because we are not registered we don't get any funding, and the money can help with making the place nicer. And why can't the government treat us like the schools by building permanent crèches so that we do not have to pay rent? We want the children to play and learn in a place that is big and beautiful and it must be safe" [Personal Interview 1].

"We don't get any support from government and if it wasn't for Father Noel who said that this centre can only be used for a crèche, we would not even have had a crèche here in this area. Look around you - there is nothing nice around here for the children here in the crèche. I can make sure it is a clean environment for them to be, but if I don't have anything for the kids.... I phone my son to buy porridge or I bring sugar from my house because what else can I do?" [Personal Interview 4].

4.7.2 Caregivers' opinions of the need for change in ECD

It was especially the parents/guardians/caregivers focus group participants in Ravensmead who became emotional when talking about the state of the ECDs that their children attend. Here are some of the focus group responses:

"We want a better future for our children but it is very difficult. Some of us struggle to find work. We want our children to go to good schools, but we cannot afford it. They try their best here at the crèche, but with all the break-ins they cannot fix the place, as they do not have any money and they don't get help. It seems like we never get any help and in our communities we always have to struggle" [Focus Group Discussion 2].

"Look at this place! The children don't have decent plays in the playground! The children cannot play there, they might get hurt" [Focus Group Discussion 3].

Suggestions for improvements in ECD were:

- Quarterly visits to the centres from state-appointed social workers to assist mothers who need help with child support grants or parents/guardians/caretakers with referrals for any other welfare issues that pertains to the welfare of the child;
- Community development interventions targeting may be at stake. Caregivers indicated that they would like parents in the community to take responsibility for their children to create a safer and a more socially positive community. Osofsky (1999) states that children's true resource of safety is a strong bond with caring, competent, positive adults. The researcher found that the parents/guardians/caregivers groups were keenly aware of this, as reflected in the data vignette below:

"Adults must be parents to their children. This means that for any positive change to happen, there should be a general change in

attitudes from most of the parents in the community. They must work hard to create positive social relationships with each other. This will create a ripple effect that will circle out to positive social relationships in the community, so that children can grow up and have the opportunity to reach their full potential.” [Focus Group Discussion 3].

The evolution of childhood is dependent on relationships, emotions and the mind of the child's development (Konner, 2010).

4.7.3 The City of Cape Town official's opinion of the need for change in ECD

The City official had the following response with regard to addressing change in communities to effect change in ECD.

“Poor parenting capacities? This is a major problem in the community. Parents are not always ready to be parents because of the social, emotional and spiritual needs to have children. We cannot expect to have well-rounded children when the child is conceived in an intoxicated state. It defeats the purpose of having children. Children are gifts from God and you have to nurture, love and care for them to the best of your ability. Then there is the lack of knowledge of early childhood milestones by mothers or other primary caregivers. Most definitely. We need to change the way we respect children. We must love them more and break the cycle of poverty by ensuring a good education that will lay the foundation for a better future. Then there is also poor bonding or attachment between the child and the mother/caregiver. Breastfeeding is the natural way of bonding for mother and children described in the Bible and the Holy Quran. This will solve a lot of problems when we can breastfeed our children till the age of 2 years old. Mothers are forced to go work because fathers are absent. When it comes to family violence, discord or a breakdown of the family, then this happens when there is unemployment, substance abuse and other social problems. Fathers must take

responsibility to support, protect and guide the family. Women want a man to protect and provide for them so that they can look after the family. This very seldom happens. Also, here we have the problem of children experiencing physical, emotional, sexual abuse and neglect. Lack of respect and supervision expose children to all kinds of violence and neglect. We cannot treat our children like it's something just by-the-way. We need to know where they are 24/7. This is very hard for a working single mum. The family support system must be strong and flop-proof. Children are subjected to extreme poverty in many forms. Especially love. Parents don't always appreciate the children and love them the way they are supposed to. Children are exposed to negative influences from their neighbourhoods. Again, lack of supervision and the exposure to negative influences is the order of the day. Even though I come from a poor area it does not mean I need to become like the area. I must have a social system that can assist me to rise above my current circumstances. The ECD Centre plays a major role in providing the children with a dream that they can follow relentlessly" [Personal Interview 6].

It is clear from her narration that she locates the problems as innate to the community and the solutions are to be found there also. This respondent regarded the family units and the communities as dysfunctional (alcohol abuse, violence, poor supervision, having children without understanding the responsibilities) and the solutions are to stop this. However, the mechanisms for community support, a deeper understanding of the socio-political history of violence and neglect in the area or the role that ECD can play in this were not mentioned, even with substantial probing by the researcher.

4.8 CONCLUSION

After analysing the data collected and keeping in line with the principles of qualitative studies, it is clear that the caregivers and managers are emotionally invested in the success of the ECD programmes in their communities. The researcher was deeply grateful to the caregivers who shared personal information with her as it rendered a

full picture of the realities of their lives. It compelled her to listen carefully and not to reach assumptions before hearing what everyone had to say. Understanding the culture of the community made it easy for her as the researcher to relate to the plight of the caregivers. Even though she does not live in the community anymore she can recall the fear of raising children in such a violent environment. These caregivers feel alone in their struggle to fully enjoy the benefits of the South African Constitution. Along with the managers of the ECDCs who might have started out by simply opening a day-care centre for children and to make some money, they are now acutely aware of the importance of their centres in the community. Without the manager's participation and warm welcome the meetings with the focus groups would never have realised.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 4 the findings were discussed and analysed. In this chapter, the researcher draws conclusions from the findings. The purpose of the study was to investigate whether early childhood development programmes can establish social cohesion and foster responsible citizenship as outlined in Chapter 1. The secondary objectives were to ascertain if early childhood programmes have an impact in the selected areas and if communities find value in the programmes. In Chapter 2, through an extensive literature review, the principles of good early childhood development programmes and policies were identified and the gap between the implementation by government and expectations by community members were identified. In Chapter, 3 the researcher explained the methodology of the study as well as the purpose of conducting a qualitative study. The findings were detailed in Chapter 4.

5.2 SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

Ntshongwana (2010: 5) states that Unicef recognises childhood as “*meaning much more than just the space between birth and the attainment of adulthood and refers to childhood as the state and condition of a child’s life: the quality of those years*”. The South African government’s commitment to eradicate poverty and create better opportunities for children has not yield much fruit and there are still many disadvantages children have to deal with at present. This have an influence on the quality of life they are experiencing and the study has established these challenges.

In relation to the main objective of this study, the findings shows that there is still much work to be done in terms of state-led ECD programmes in the Cape Flats, being

effective in establishing social cohesion and fostering responsible citizenship and youth resilience. As per the secondary objectives to uncover the views and perceptions of the community and especially the beneficiaries of what the government deems as successful interventions into ECD programmes, the findings show that they were not always consulted or involved in the development and implementation of these programmes. Furthermore, it is clear that the resources and capacities allocated to these programmes are not reaching all the relevant stakeholders as was determined by the questions raised by the secondary objective.

5.2.1 Poverty and social well-being

Having established that the NDP's goal is to create an environment for all South Africans to flourish (NPC, 2011) and that the City of Cape Town's ECDP goal is to improve the quality of life of its people with emphasis on the children of the poor and marginalised families (City of Cape Town, 2013). The finding of this study shows a community experiencing long-term and deepening poverty. This is in opposition to the expected outcomes of the main study objective which was to investigate whether state-led ECD programmes can establish social cohesion and foster responsible citizenship. If poverty not only exists, but is increasing in the areas studied, then ECD programmes have not yet had an impact on society as per the secondary objective.

The discourse of poverty in the sample population can include poverty of place, space and social exclusion (Alderman, 2011). Many of the caregivers who participated did not own their own homes and were co-dependent on grandparents or extended family for financial support to take care of their children. Many were unemployed and rely on a child support grant to pay the ECDC's fees. A few are part of the EPWP in the area and are grateful for the opportunity, but are still seeking gainful employment, however job opportunities are scarce and the area is plagued with crime and violence.

An impoverished community lacks the resources to care for their children and to improve infrastructure such as ECD centres to better educate their children in order to break the cycle of poverty. As demonstrated in the findings, these communities tend

to rely on (and wait on) government to intervene. However, if ECD programmes initiated by the government are not implemented efficiently or effectively as witnessed by the focus group discussion, then it shows that government is not yet achieving its goal of reducing poverty through such programmes.

5.2.2 Children's exposed to violence

Most children from the Cape Flats have been exposed to violence in their communities. This was also reflected in the narrations of the focus group discussants and in the interviews with managers. The researcher personally witnessed gang-related incidents during the interview.

Children who cannot process emotions about violence might suffer from stress and need coping strategies to deal with the emotional trauma as this can have long-term effects (Evans, *et al.* 2014).

Community-based programmes might be more effective in developing and implementing programmes to assist with intervention strategies when it comes to children who have been exposed to violence (Loxton, 2009; Evans *et al.*, 2014). These programmes will have to deal with years of exposure to structural violence as well. Structural violence has imprisoned members of the community physically and mentally and many children are either primary or secondary victims of this violence. The psychological impact that structural violence had on communities on the Cape Flats created a society with an inability to overcome its tragic past. Even though violence is as visible and as prevalent as in the past, criminals and criminal organisations have become more sophisticated and they still perpetrate violence against their own communities (Standing, 2003). This has led to unsafe environments in which to raise children.

As mentioned in chapter one, the South African Department of Arts and Culture defines social cohesion as integration and inclusion in communities and society at

large, but also the extent to which mutual solidarity finds expression among individuals and communities (DAC, 2017). Thus, a community that can function as active participants, working together for the attainment of shared goals to improve the living conditions of all, will build a nation that is caring, dignified and have mutual respect for each other (DAC, 2017). The main purpose of this study was to find out if government initiated programmes for ECD can bring about social cohesion through ECDC curriculum and interventions. This would mean that children are taught socially accepted behaviour and means of developing a sense of positive social norms that would bring a community together. However, children who think that violence is normal behaviour will not be able to understand that caring and mutual respect should be the norm of a cohesive and successful society. An ECDC curriculum should contain practices to instil in these children the idea of what a dignified community is and how mutual respect for lives can build an economically viable and civil society where everyone has the right to safety and equal opportunities.

In a study conducted by Janet Currie (2001), she found that disadvantaged children between the ages of three and four years old can gain significant long- and medium-term benefits from ECDPs. Especially notable were the improvement of educational attainment and earnings, and thus a reduction of welfare dependency and crime (Currie, 2001). She found evidence that self-control can be taught in the development of formal cognitive skills. The data revealed that much time is devoted to the physical care and safe-keeping of children at ECDCs with little resources (time, training, equipment, funding) available for training in self-control or cognitive skills. Some managers took a harsh stance towards banning swearing or disrespect, but treated these as problems experienced by individual children as opposed to suggesting a more holistic approach to dealing with these within a localised ECD curriculum that is fit for purpose. Recruitment into gangs was narrated as an ever-present threat, but that would mean that government should take an active role in helping to create this type of curriculum for an ECDC in full consultation with the community. As per the discussions with the focus groups and the interviews with the managers, it is clear that the current government programmes do not consult the communities of Ravensmead, Elsie's River and Uitsig.

It is in the interest of government spending to provide ECD interventions as a cost-efficiency exercise, since a healthy child will excel in school, be less inclined to take part in crime and thus need less special educational services (Reynolds, Temple, Robertson & Mann, 2001). The reduction of school drop-out rates will ensure a higher chance of reaching a completed secondary education as well as less chance of juvenile arrests which in turn creates the potential for tertiary education and the ability to find economically viable jobs to stimulate the economy (Reynolds *et al.*, 2001). Currently, the caretakers and stakeholders of the ECDCs in the selected study areas, do not find value in the programmes created by government as per the secondary objective of this research. The focus group participants would have found more value in the programmes if they were to include interventions that speak to reducing the attraction to criminal activities and increasing youth resilience in the face of gang recruitment.

5.2.3 Environmental influences on child development

How people act and think is influenced by how others around them act (Krishnan, 2010). The literature review revealed that the environment has a direct impact on a child's development. For a community to thrive there has to be a degree of social responsibility. Wray-Lake and Syvertsen (2011: 13) describe social responsibility as follows: "*Social responsibility values are expected to motivate a person's behaviours that involve helping others and contributing to society*". The question could be asked if there is a lack of social responsibility in the Cape Flats?

In Focus Group 3, one participant stated that there are too many mothers in their communities aware that their children are involved with gangs, but that they refuse to take responsibility for their children's actions. Maybe it is possible that mothers would always try to protect their children, but this cannot be at the cost of the lives and well-being of the rest of the community. It begs the question whether all members of the community should be deemed as social capital (Seferiadis, Cummings, Zweekhorst & Bunders, 2015; Shan *et al.*, 2012)? If every member plays his or her part in adding

value in the community, it would create a safe and conducive environment for young children.

The central research question for the study was whether state-led early childhood development programmes (ECDPs) in selected communities of the Cape Flats are effective in their objectives to establish social cohesion and to foster responsible citizenship and youth resilience. The findings could not ascertain whether the community at large is taking responsibility for the crime and poverty in the selected study area, but it could be ascertained that the government initiated ECD programmes are not creating enough direct interventions to change the way that children view responsible citizenship. If children can develop a mind-set of taking responsibility for their actions, they will grow up to become responsible adults who could create a safe environment for their own children in the future.

5.2.4 Early Childhood Development Centres

Early Childhood Development Centres should offer education for children before they enter formal schooling, but due to the government's lack of support for pre-schools it is mainly driven by the community and profit (Van Heerden, 2016). This is why quality early childhood education might be in high demand, but not always in supply. As mentioned in Chapter 4, there are FET colleges that offer free training for ECD teachers. Managers are responsible for facilitating this process. It means teachers will have to take time off from work to attend the training and transport expenses will have to be covered by the centre's owner/manager. This can create a situation in which the quality of education is sacrificed for unforeseen expenses. Since there is no legislation that forces managers to employ qualified teachers, further training or skills development are not prioritised.

With the misalignment of databases within the City of Cape Town as well as the national and provincial Department of Social Development, it is clear that resources and support from government are not efficiently deployed. Thus, it is clear that state-

led ECDPs are not effective in their objectives as per the research purpose. This needs to be addressed urgently and further research as to the implementation of policy and local execution should be conducted to ensure that disadvantaged communities are able to benefit from the ECD policy in place. The policy is in place but seems to be misunderstood as per the conversation and comments from the official in the provincial government. This would require engagement with the community to uncover the plight of the caregivers and ECDC managers. This may be as simple as a conversation between the representatives of the community and the government officials that preside over the ECD policy.

5.4 RECOMMENDATION FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Some of the secondary objectives were to explore alternative ways of delivering the programme to the relevant communities and to uncover the community's perceived ability to identify their own needs regarding ECD. Based on the findings, the researcher recommends that government officials hold information sessions focusing on the importance of caregiver's participation in training programmes to foster strong social cohesion efforts. Research should also be conducted to:

- Determine why there is a perception from ECDC managers that there is lack of community involvement in early childhood development and how this can be addressed;
- Why oversight by city officials is limited to registration of ECDC's and not the operational or curriculum aspects of an ECD centre;
- Why city officials only offer a few training programmes and the required material to enable statutory registration and not more information on how to socially develop children within their particular crime-ridden environment to become positive citizens.
- Future research should focus on the reasons policies cannot be implemented and monitored successfully. There are a few concerns to address when it comes to the policy.

5.5 POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

The Child Gauge states that “*South Africa is considered strong on policy, but weak on implementation*” (Jamieson & Lake, 2017: 47). South Africa does, however, “*have enough policies for children and adolescents*” as was discovered during the study. There was clear evidence of lack of knowledge about policies guiding early childhood development amongst the ECDC managers, the caregiver/parent groups and even the City of Cape Town official. This might explain why implementation often lags behind. Caregivers were insufficiently mobilised to engage with the relevant departments that can assist in creating a safe environment for their children.

ECDCs managers wait on government officials to respond to their problems instead of being proactive in finding their own solutions. Nevertheless, they also fail to hold such government officials accountable to engage with them. Policy design should include early child support, parental support through existing services and available resources which will have a far-reaching impact on child development (Caceres, *et al.*, 2016). The long-term benefit of investing in early childhood development is the future economic benefits through policy innovation and implementation (Jenkins, 2014; Sayre *et al.*, 2015).

Since the purpose of the study was to investigate whether early childhood development programmes can establish social cohesion and foster responsible citizenship, the primary data collected indicates that there is a need for intervention strategies from government and community members to create not only a safe environment for children, but also a socially cohesive environment for the community. The secondary objectives were to ascertain if early childhood programmes have an impact in the selected areas and if communities find value in the programmes with one of the objectives to evaluate and identify shortcomings of the ECD programmes. Shortcomings of the government-led ECD programmes show that communities do not find value in the programmes because they do not include a holistic approach to ECD interventions by involving the community in the creation of curriculum, development

issues specific to the community (such as crime and poverty) and the need to include development issues for the caretakers. Future policies should also include a holistic and future-ready education system that prepares generational openness and tolerance in society (The Economist, 2017).

It is clear from the focus groups interviews based on the secondary objective of the community's perceived ability to identify their own needs with regard to ECD, the caretakers feel that the state-led ECDPs are not taking into account all aspects of the development of their children. The programmes should be more holistic in approach.

5.6 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The research was based on a sample size of three areas and on caregivers' perception and understanding of the value of early childhood development. The study highlighted the importance of ECD programmes and the value it could add to communities; however, it is important to be mindful of the limitations of the sample size. The exclusivity of the sample size that consisted only of parents and managers of the participatory centres might have a limited and bias view on the findings (Denscombe, 2010). The views and opinions are only from the participants and their interpretations of the questions presented to them. The lack of community participation and accountability as well as father involvement meant that, during data collection only two fathers were willing to participate.

5.6.1 Community uniqueness

Communities have their own identity which is associated with the culture and place where they are residing. This influences the social dynamics of the community (Killen, Mulvey & Hitti, 2012; Main & Sandoval, 2014) especially how they function and how they engage with each other. From the focus group discussion it emerged that most people in the community have a vested interest in early childhood development, but

are apprehensive when dealing head on in demanding better services from government.

Strengthening the community fabric might cultivate communitarian social capital that will lead to improved institutional and service environments (Shan *et al.*, 2012). Community-based organisations could be the best vehicle to drive local projects as they are rooted in the community and already have extensive networks (Green & Haines, 2012). Communities have to take control of their environment and should insist on cooperation from its members.

Community members can work with neighbourhood watch members to minimise crime. Churches can help with parenting classes in order to create safer family environments (Swart, Rocher, Green & Erasmus, 2010; Vilanculo, 1998). Churches and welfare organisation can drive these initiatives in affected communities. Most of the mothers who participated mentioned that they were single parents and are trying very hard to give their children a better future.

5.6.2 Gender bias

There was difficulty involving fathers in this study. This is indicative of a more pervasive problem of absent fathers in these communities (Pattnaik, 2012). The study revealed that some of the teenage mothers were addicted to drugs, and used child support money to sustain this addiction. Children of these teenage mothers are mostly cared for by their grandparents. These grandparents rely on their pension grant to take care of their grandchildren.

5.7 FINAL REMARKS

The study found that there is a lack of knowledge from caregivers and managers regarding policy implementation. There is a lack of active participation from caregivers

due to the lack of understanding the unique role they play in early childhood development. Even though the participants lack the knowledge and resources to play an active role in the development of their community and their children, they are willing to learn. The importance of investing in caregivers as much as investing in children will yield sustainable economic and social outcomes. Communities will benefit from teaching their caregivers how to foster positive early childhood development by taking an active role in equipping themselves with the necessary tools and skills.

Training is one of the important aspects of successful early childhood development and synchronising training of all the participants including parents, teachers and managers can lead to a more structured early childhood development programme. Understanding the ecological resources, characteristics as well as the child's disposition might help in customising programmes for children affected by violence in communities in the Cape Flats area (Paterson & Perold, 2013: 2).

The time spent with the ECDCs managers and focus groups was insightful and there is no doubt that more can be learnt from engaging with them. More time could be spent to establish what works and what does not work with ECD programmes in those particular areas. After all it is enshrined in the South African Constitution and part of the Bill of Rights of 1996 that everyone has the right to a safe environment, that every child be protected from maltreatment, neglect, abuse or degradation. The success of these rights will only be obtained if everyone is committed to working together to achieve a socially cohesive environment.

REFERENCES

Abdu, H.A. 2014. *An exploratory study of Early Childhood Development teacher attitudes towards parent involvement in Early Childhood Development centres in Athlone*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town.

Achmat, Z. 2014. *Apartheid geography and murder in Cape Town*. Available at: http://groundup.org.za/article/apartheid-geography-and-murder-cape-town_2297#sthash.BvKVOAfr.dpuf. [Accessed: 06 October 2014].

Anderson, R., Huston, A.D., Schmitt, K.L., Linebarger, D.L. & Larson, R. 2002. *Early childhood television viewing and adolescent behavior: The Recontact study*. Boston: Blackwell Publishers.

Albon, D. & Mukherji, P. 2008. *Food and health in early childhood*. London: Sage.

Alderman, H. 2011. *No small matter: The impact of poverty shocks, and human capital investments in early childhood development*. Washington: The World Bank.

Allen, L. & Kelly, B.B. 2015. *Transforming the workforce for children birth through age 8: A unifying foundation*. Washington DC: The National Academies Press.

Anglin, R. 2011. *Promoting sustainable local community economic development*. Boca Raton: CRC Press.

Arendse, C. & Gunn, S. 2010. *Edge of the table: Fourteen Cape Flats youths tell their life stories*. Cape Town: Human Rights Media Centre. Johannesburg: Department of Social Development.

Atmore, E. 2013. Early childhood development in South Africa – progress since the end of apartheid. *International Journal of Early Years Education*, 21(2-3): 152-162.

Atmore, E., van Niekerk, L. & Ashley-Cooper, M. 2012. Challenges facing early childhood development sector in South Africa. *South African Journal of Childhood Education*, 2(1): 139-158.

Bakermans-Kranenburg, M.J., van Ijzendoorn, M.H. & Juffer, F. 2003. Less is more: Meta-analyses of sensitivity and attachment interventions in early childhood. *Psychological Bulletin*, 129(2): 195-215.

Barbier, E. 2010. Poverty, development, and environment. *Environment and Development Economics*, 15(6): 635 – 660.

Bateman, C. 2015. The risky lives of South African children: Why so many die or are traumatised. *The South African Medical Journal*, 105(3): 170-171.

Benson, P.L. 2006. *Mobilizing adults for positive youth development: Strategies for closing the gap between beliefs and behaviours*. New York: Springer.

Berger, K. 2011. *The developing person through the life span*. 8th ed. New York: Worth Publishers.

Berk, L.E. 2003. *Child development*. 6th ed. Boston: Pearson Education.

Bernat, F.P. 2009. Youth Resilience: Can schools enhance youth factors for hope, optimism, and success? *Women & Criminal Justice*, 19(3): 251 – 166.

Berry, L., Jamieson, L. & James, M. 2011. *Children's Act guides for early childhood development practitioners*. Children's Institute, University of Cape Town and LETCEE. Cape Town: University of Cape Town.

Bertram, C. & Christiansen, I. 2014. *Understanding research: An introduction to reading research*. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.

Bijou, S.W. 1978. *Child development: The basic stage of early childhood*. New York: Prentice Hall.

Blasco, P.M. 2001. *Early intervention services for infants, toddlers and their families*. New York: Pearson.

Blazer, D.A. 1989. *Faith development in early childhood*. Kansas: Sheed & Ward.

Böhmer, W. 2007. *An investigation into the inclusion of child development in Early Childhood Programs*. Unpublished Master's dissertation. Pretoria: University of South Africa.

Bond, P., Dor, G. & Ruiters, G. 2010. n.d. *Transformation in infrastructure policy from Apartheid to democracy*. Available at: <http://www.municipalservicesproject.org/sites/default/files/BOND%20DOR%20and%20RUITERS%20Transformation%20in%20Infrastructure%20Policy%20From%20Apartheid%20to%20Democracy.pdf> [Accessed: 8 November 2017].

Breidlid, A., Cheyeka, A.M. & Farag, A.I. 2015. *Perspectives on youth HIV/AIDS and indigenous knowledges in Africa*. Netherlands: Sense Publishers.

Bronfenbrenner, U. n.d. *Bronfenbrenner's Ecological System's Theory*. Available at: http://www.floridahealth.gov/AlternateSites/CMS-Kids/providers/early_steps/training/documents/bronfenbrenners_ecological.pdf [Accessed: 08 August 2015].

Bronfenbrenner, U. 1989. Ecological systems theory. *Annals of Child Development*, 6: 187-249.

Bronfenbrenner, U. 2005. *Making human beings human: bioecological perspectives on human development*. New York: Sage.

Bronfenbrenner, U. & Morris, P. 2006. The bioecological model of human development. In R. Lerner and W. Damon, ed., *Theoretical models of human development*. 5th ed [Online]. New York: Wiley. 799 – 828. Available at:

<https://nyuscholars.nyu.edu/en/publications/the-bioecological-model-of-human-development-theoretical-models-> [Accessed: 5 March 2017].

Bronson, M.B. 2004. *Self-regulation in early childhood: nature and nurture*: London: The Guilford Press.

BusinessTech. 2015. *South Africa's education crisis enough to make you weep*. Available at: <https://businesstech.co.za/news/general/100036/south-africas-education-crisis-enough-to-make-you-weep/> [Accessed: 9 September 2017].

BusinessTech. 2017. *Cape Town is the 13th most violent city in the world*. Available at: <https://businesstech.co.za/news/general/169757/cape-town-is-the-13th-most-violent-city-in-the-world//> [Accessed: 20 October 2017].

Caceres, S., Tanner, J & Williams, S. 2016. Maximizing child development: three principles for policy-making. *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities Association: Multi-Disciplinary and People Centred*, 4: 583 – 589.

Campbell, P. 2012. *A critical examination of the legislative and policy framework governing ECD service provision in South Africa since 1994*. Unpublished Master's dissertation. Cape Town: University of Cape Town.

Cape Flats. 2014. *Gangs on the Cape Flats*. Available at: www.capeflats.org.za/modules/home/gangs.php [Accessed: 10 January 2018].

Cape Town Safety Map. 2017. Available at: <https://www.capetownsafety.com/cape-town-safety-map/> [Access 09 November 2017].

Chibucos, T.R. & Leite, R.W. 2005. *Readings in family theory*. California: Sage.

Chopra, V. 2014. *Peace-building through early childhood development: A guidance note*. Unicef.

Christens, B.D. & Peterson, N.A. 2011. The role of empowerment in youth development: A study of sociopolitical control as mediator of ecological systems' influence on development outcomes. *Journal of Youth Adolescence*, 2012(41): 623-635.

City of Cape Town. 2013. *Early Childhood Development Plan*. Available at: <http://www.capetown.gov.za/en/PublicParticipation/Documents/ECD%20POLICY%20updated%20on%2002%20April%202013.pdf>. [Accessed: 05 March 2015].

City of Cape Town. 2016. *Overview of Demographic and Socio-economic Characteristics of Cape Town*. Cape Town: City of Cape Town, Development Information and GIS Department.

City of Cape Town. 2017a. *Cape Town census and population statistics. 2011*. Available at: <http://www.capetown.gov.za/Family%20and%20home/education-and-research-materials/data-statistics-and-research/cape-town-census> [Accessed: 20 August 2017].

City of Cape Town. 2017b. *ECD Registration Compliance*. Available at: <http://www.capetown.gov.za/departments-city-initiatives/social-development-and-early-childhood-development/ecd-centre-registration-compliance> [Accessed: 06 February 2018]

Clary, G.E. & Rhodes, J.E. 2006. *Mobilizing adults for positive youth development. strategies for closing the gap between beliefs and behaviours*. New York: Springer.

Cloete, F. 2016. *The wrong questions are being asked in the free higher education debate*. Available at: <https://theconversation.com/the-wrong-questions-are-being-asked-in-the-free-higher-education-debate-66085> [Accessed: 27 March 2017].

Cohen, M. 2017. *SA spends higher proportion of budget on education than US, UK*. Available at: <https://www.fin24.com/Economy/sa-spends-more-on-education-than-us-uk-and-germany-20170105> [Accessed: 8 November 2017].

Coleman, N. 2013. Understanding family lives in contemporary society, in *Empowering family – teacher partnerships: Building connections within diverse communities*, edited by T.M. Coleman, pp: 47-69. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Cook, J.L. & Cook, G. 2005. *Child development: Principles and perspective*. Upper Saddle River: Pearson Education.

Creswell, J. 2009. *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. 3rd ed. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Creswell, J. 2014. *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. 4th ed. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Crime Stats SA. 2016 *Crime Stats Selection*. Available at: [https://www.crimestatssa.com/provinceselect.php?ShowProvince=Western%20Cape&Years\[\]=2016](https://www.crimestatssa.com/provinceselect.php?ShowProvince=Western%20Cape&Years[]=2016) [Accessed: 4 August 2017].

Crime Stats SA. 2017 *Crime Stats Selection*. Available at: [https://www.crimestatssa.com/provinceselect.php?ShowProvince=Western%20Cape&Years\[\]=2016](https://www.crimestatssa.com/provinceselect.php?ShowProvince=Western%20Cape&Years[]=2016) [Accessed: 14 December 2017].

Cross. W.E. 2017. Ecological factors in human development: *Child Development*, 88: 767 – 769.

Cummings, S. Seferiadis, A.A., Maas, J., Bunder, J.F.G. & Zweekhorst, M.B.M. 2016. Knowledge, social capital, and grassroots development: insight from rural Bangladesh. *The Journal of Development Studies*. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00220388.2017.1417584> [Access: 20 January 2018]

Currie, J. 2001. Early Childhood Education Programs. *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 15(2): 213-238.

Daniels, D. & Adams, Q. 2010. *Breaking with township gangsterism: the struggle for place and voice*. Florida: Center for African Studies.

De Beer, F. & Swanepoel, H. 2000. *Introduction to Development Studies*. 2nd edition. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

De Beer, F. & Swanepoel, H. 2011. *Community development: breaking the cycle of poverty*. Lansdowne: Juta.

De Beer, F. & Swanepoel, H. 2012. *The community development profession: issues, concepts and approaches*. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.

Den Boon, S., Van Lill, S.W.P., Borgdorff, M.W., Enarson, D.A., Verver, S., Bateman, E.D., Irusen, E., Lombard, C.J., White, N.W., De Villiers, C. & Beyers, N. 2014. High prevalence of Tuberculosis in previously treated patients, Cape Town, South Africa. *Emerging Infectious Diseases*, 13(8): 1189-1194.

Denicolo, P. 2014. *Achieving impact in research*. Los Angeles: Sage.

Denscombe, M. 2010. *Ground rules for social research*. 2nd ed. London: McGraw-Hill.

Department of Art & Culture. (DAC). 2017. *What is social cohesion and what is the department doing to promote a cohesive society?* Available at: <http://www.dac.gov.za/content/2-what-social-cohesion-and-what-department-doing-promote-cohesive-society> [Accessed: 24 January 2018].

Desmond Tutu HIV Foundation. 2016. *Tuberculosis in Cape Town*. Available at: <http://desmondtutuhivfoundation.org.za/tuberculosis-cape-town/> [Accessed: 15 August 2017].

Dictionary Unit for South African English. 2002. *South African Concise Oxford Dictionary*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Diener, E. & Crandall, R. 1978. *Ethics in social and behavioural research*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Dolley, C. 2017. *Gang shootout erupts in front of Cape Town court*. Available at: <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/gang-shootout-erupts-in-front-of-cape-town-court-20170828> [Accessed: 28 August 2017].

Donald, D., Lazarus, S. & Lolwana, P. 2002. *Educational psychology in social context*. 2nd ed. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Dowd, A., Borisova, I., Amente, A. & Yenew, A. 2016. Realizing capabilities in Ethiopia: Maximizing early childhood investment for impact and equity. *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, 17(4): 477 -793.

Downs, A. 1981. *Neighborhoods and urban development*. Washington: Brookings Institution.

Dukes, C. & Smith, M. 2009. *Building better behaviour in the early years*. Washington DC: Sage.

Erikson, E.H. 2008. *Childhood and society*. London: Vintage.

Emerson, E. 2001. *Challenging behaviour: analysis and intervention in people with severe learning disabilities*. 2nd Ed. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Evans, R., Garner, P., & Honig, A.S. 2014. Prevention of violence, abuse and neglect in early childhood: a review of the literature on research, policy and practice. *Early Child Development and Care*, 184: 9 -10.

Evans, J.L., Myers, R.G. & Ilfeld, E.M. 2000. *Early childhood development counts*. Washington DC: The World Bank.

Filander, B. 2015. *Investigating the needs and challenges of underachieving grade R learners in a Mitchell's Plain primary school*. Unpublished Master's dissertation. Pretoria: University of South Africa.

Flanagan, C.A. & Christen, B.D. 2011. Youth civic development: Historical context and emerging issues. *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development*, 143: 1-9.

Garcia, M., Pence, A. & Evans, J. 2008. *Africa's future, Africa's challenge: early childhood care and development in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Washington: The World Bank.

Gibbs, J.C. 2014. *Moral development and reality: Beyond the theories of Kohlberg, Hoffman and Haidt*. New York: Oxford Press.

Gilchrist, A. 2004. *The well-connected community: a networking approach to community development*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Gilchrist, A. 2011. *The short guide to community development*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Goswami, U. 2004. *Blackwell handbook of childhood cognitive development*. Australia: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Gove, A. & Black, M.M. 2016. Measurement of early childhood development and learning under the Sustainable Development Goals. *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, 17(4): 599–605.

Government Gazette. 2008. *Children's Amendment Act No 41 of 2007*. Government Gazette 30884: 2–116.

Gray, C. & MacBlain, S. 2012. *Learning theories in childhood*. London: Sage.

Grbich, C. 2004. *New approaches in social research*. London: Sage.

Green, G.P. & Haines, A. 2012. *Asset building and community development*. 3rd ed. California: Sage.

Gregory, I. 2003. *Ethics in research*. New York: Continuum.

Hakim, C. 2000. *Research design: successful designs for social and economic research*. 2nd edition. London: Routledge.

Hall, K., Sambu, W., Berry, L., Giese, S. & Almeleh, C. 2017. *South African Early Childhood Review 2017*. Cape Town: Children's Institute, University of Cape Town and Ilifa Labantwana.

Hammersley, M. & Traianou, A. 2016. Autonomy and informed consent, in *Ethics in qualitative research: controversies and contexts*, edited by M. Hammersley & A Traianou. London: Sage.

Harwood, R., Miller, S.A. & Vasta, R. 2008. *Child psychology: development in a changing society*. New York: Wiley.

Henning, E., Van Rensburg, W. & Smit, B. 2004. *Finding your way in qualitative research*. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.

Howard, J. & Alderson, D. 2014. *Play in early childhood: from birth to six months*. London: Routledge.

Hurrelmann, K. & Engel, U. 1989. *The social world of adolescents*. New York: Walter de Gruyter & Co.

Hyson, M. & Tomlinson, H.B. 2014. *The early years matter: education, care, and the well-being of children: birth to 8*. United States of America: Teachers College Press.

Indakway, E. & Miriti, G. 2005. *ECD best practice*. Kenya: Bernard van Leer Foundation.

Isaacs, L. 2017. *Uitsig gang violence*. Available at: <http://ewn.co.za/Topic/Uitsig-gang-violence> [Accessed: 4 August 2017].

Jamieson, L. & Lake, L. 2017. *South African child gauge*. Cape Town: Children's Institute. University of Cape Town.

Jenkins, R. 2008. *Social identity*. 3rd ed. London: Routledge.

Jenkins, R. 2014. *Social identity*. 4th ed. London: Routledge.

Jensen, S. 2008. *Gangs, politics & dignity in Cape Town*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Johnson, S.L., Reichenberg, R., Bradshaw, C.P., Haynie, D.L. & Cheng, T.L. 2016. Caregivers and adolescent discrepancies in perceptions of violence and their associations with early adolescent aggression. *Journal of Youth Adolescence*, 45(10), 2125-2137.

Kakwani, N. & Silber, J. 2007. *The many dimensions of poverty*. London: Antony Rowe Ltd.

Keun, R. 2013. The perceptions of parents from disadvantaged backgrounds of their role in preparing their children for school. Unpublished Master's dissertation. Pretoria: University of South Africa.

Killen, M., Mulvey, L. & Hitti, A. 2012. *Child development*. New York: Sage.

Knafo, T. 2015. *Experiences of practitioners in early childhood development centres in impoverished and marginalised predominantly white communities*. Pretoria: University of South Africa.

Konner, M. 2010. *The evolution of childhood: relationships, emotions, mind*. New York: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Lambrechts, D. 2012. The impact of organised crime on state social control: Organised criminal groups and local governance on the Cape Flats, Cape Town, South Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 38(4): 787–807.

Landsberg, E., Kruger, D. & Nel, M. 2005. *Addressing barriers to learning: A South African perspective*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.

Larson, J. & Marsh, J. 2013. *The Sage handbook of early childhood literacy*. London: Sage.

Lazarus, S., Baptiste, D. & Seedat, M. 2009. Community counselling in African contexts. *Journal of Psychology in Africa*, 19(4): 463-469.

Lee-Treweek, G. & Lingole, S. 2000. *Danger in the field: risk and ethics in social research*. London: Routledge.

Lockhat, R & van Niekerk, A. 2000. *South African children: a history of adversity, violence and trauma*. London: Routledge.

Loxton, H. 2009. Young children's self-reports of coping with fears and perceived effectiveness of coping strategies in the South African context. *Anxiety, Stress, & Coping: an International Journal*, 22(3): 361–370.

Luby, J. 2015. The importance of early nurturance for social development. *Journal of American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, 54(12): 972-973.

Maderthander, N. 2005. *Significant factors contributing to youth offending*. Pretoria: University of South Africa.

Main, K. & Sandoval, G.F. 2014. *Placemaking in a translocal receiving community: The relevance of place to identity and agency*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Mallaby, S. 1992. *After Apartheid: the future of South Africa*. Cape Town: Times Books.

Marshall, C. & Rossman, G. 2006. *Designing qualitative research*. London: Sage.

Meier, C. & Marais, P. 2007. *Education management in early childhood development*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.

Miller, D.C. & Salkind, N.J. 2002. *Handbook of research design and social measurement*. 6th ed. California: Sage.

Mortlock, M. 2017. *Courtney Pieters's body found in shallow grave*. Available at: <http://ewn.co.za/2017/05/13/courtney-pieters-s-body-found-in-shallow-grave> [Accessed: 14 September 2017].

Morton, M. & Montgomery, P. 2011. *Youth empowerment programs for improving self-efficacy and self-esteem of adolescents*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Munthali, A.C., Mvula, P.M. & Silo, L. 2014. Early childhood Development: The role of community based childcare centres in Malawi. *Springer Plus Open Journal*, 3: 305.

Murphy, P.W. & Cunningham, J.V. 2003. *Organizing for community development: renewing civil society*. California: Sage.

Nakkula, M.J. 2010. *Building healthy communities for positive youth development*. New York: Springer.

National Development Agency. 2012. *Challenges Facing Early Childhood Development Sector in South Africa*. Johannesburg: The Department of Social Development.

National Planning Commission (NPC). 2011. *National Development Plan 2030. Our future – make it work*. Pretoria: Government Printers.

Nichols, S. & Folds-Bennett, T. 2003. *Are children moral objectivists? Children's judgements about moral and response-dependent properties*. New York: Elsevier.

Niemand, J.H. 1967. *Township layouts for Indian and coloured communities*. Pretoria: Department of Community Development.

Ntshongwana, P. 2010. *Childcare challenges faced by lone mothers in South Africa*. Pretoria: Department for Social Development, Republic of South Africa.

Nutbrown, C. & Clough, P. 2014. *Early childhood education history, philosophy and experience*. London: Sage.

OECD. n.d. *Encouraging quality in early childhood education and care (ECEC)*. Available at: <http://www.oecd.org/education/school/49322478.pdf> [Accessed: 4 April 2018].

Paterson, C., & Perold, M. 2013. Classroom behaviour of children living in contexts of adversity. *Child Abuse Research: A South African Journal*, 14(1): 1 -13.

Pattnaik, J. 2012. *Fathers' involvement in young children's lives: A global analysis (educating the young child)*. Long Beach: Springer.

Philips, R. & Pittman, R.H. 2009. *An introduction to community development*. New York: Routledge.

Pitchford, M. & Henderson, P. 2008. *Making space for community development*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Ramson, S.M. & Chetty, R. 2016. Illicit drugs: Local and international realities. *Acta Criminologica: Southern African Journal of Criminology*, 29 (3): 80–95.

Republic of South Africa. *Basic Conditions of Employment Act* (Act No. 75 of 1997).

Republic of South Africa. *Children's Act, 2005* (Act No. 38 of 2005).

Republic of South Africa. *Children's Amendment Act* (Act No. 41 of 2007).

Republic of South Africa. Department of Education. 1995. *White Paper on Education and Training*. Government Gazette no. 16312, 15 March.

Resnik, D. 2011. *What is ethics in research and why is it important*. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis. Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch.

Reynolds, A.J., Temple, J.A., Robertson, D.L. & Mann, E.A. 2001. Long-term effects of an early childhood intervention of educational achievement and juvenile arrest. *Journal of American Medical Association*, 285(18): 2339-2346.

Rodriguez, M., Micshel, W. & Shoda, Y. 1989. Cognitive person variables in the delay of gratification of older children at risk. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 57(2): 358-367.

Rosa, M. & Tudge, J. 2013. Urie Bronfenbrenner's theory of human development: Its evolution from Ecology to Bioecology. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, 213–258.

Rotenberg, K.J. 2010. *Interpersonal trust during childhood and adolescence*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Samodien, L. 2008. *Ellen Pakkies was 'desperate'*. Available at: <https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/ellen-pakkies-was-desperate-427785> [Accessed: 3 September 2017].

Saracho, O.N. & Spodek, B. 2002. *Contemporary perspectives on early childhood curriculum*. New York: Information Age Publishing.

Sayre, R., Devercelli, A., Neuman, M. & Wodon, Q. 2015. *Investing in early childhood development*. Washington: The World Bank.

Scannapieco, M. & Connell-Carrick, K. 2005. *Understanding child maltreatment: An ecological and developmental perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Seekings, J & Nattrass, N. 2011. *Policy, politics and poverty in South Africa*. Durrheim: Duke University Press.

Senefeld, F.M., & Perrin, P.C. 2014. Applying an ecological model to orphans and vulnerable children programming. *Development in Practice*, 24(1): 129-139.

September, S.J., Rich, E.G. & Roman, N.V. 2016. The role of parenting styles and socio-economic status in parents' knowledge of child development. *Early Childhood Development and Care*, 186(7): 1060–1078.

Shan, H., Muhajarine, N., Lopton, K. & Jeffery, B. 2012. *Building social capital as a pathway to success: community development practices of an early childhood intervention program in Canada*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Shapiro, I. & Tebeau, K. 2011. *After apartheid: reinventing South Africa*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.

Sherrill, C. 2004. *Adapted physical activity, recreation, and sport: cross-disciplinary and lifespan*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Silverman, D. 2004. *Qualitative research theory, method and practice*. 2nd ed. London: Sage.

Simons, H. & Usher, R. 2000. *Situated ethics in educational research*. London: Routledge Falmer.

Siraj-Blatchford, I., Taggart, B., Sylva, K., Sammons, P. & Melhuish, E. 2008. Towards the transformation of practice in early childhood education: the effective provision of pre-school education (EPPE) project. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 38(1): 23–36.

South Africa. Office of the President. 2015. *National Youth Policy 2015 – 2020*. Pretoria: The Presidency.

South African History Online. 2011. *Cape Flats*. Available at: <http://www.sahistory.org.za/places/cape-flats> [Accessed: 8 November 2017].

Spies, D. 2017. *Boy, 9 gunned down in possible Ocean View gang shooting*. Available at: <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/boy-9-gunned-down-in-possible-ocean-view-gang-shooting-20170909> [Accessed: 14 September 2017].

Spaull, N. 2013. *South Africa's education crisis: The quality of education in South Africa 1994 -2011*. Pretoria: Centre for Development Enterprises.

Spies, M. 2011. *Early childhood development as pathway to sustainable community development*. Unpublished Master's Dissertation. Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch.

Standing, A. 2003. *The social contradictions of organised crime on the Cape Flats*. Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies.

Standing, A. 2006. *Organised crime: A study from the Cape Flats*. Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies.

Starting Strong II. 2006. *Early childhood education and care*. Paris: Organisation for Economic Co-Operations and Development.

Statistics South Africa. 2007. *Community Survey 2007*. Pretoria: South Africa.

Statistics South Africa. 2016a. *Community Survey 2016: Statistical Release P0301*. Available at: http://cs2016.statssa.gov.za/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/NT-30-06-2016-RELEASE-for-CS-2016-Statistical-releas_1-July-2016.pdf [Accessed: 19 December 2017].

Statistics South Africa. 2016b. *Statistics South Africa: Unemployment rate*. Pretoria: South African Government.

Swart, I., Rocher, H., Green, S. & Erasmus, J. (ed). 2010. *Religion and social development in post-Apartheid South Africa: Perspective for critical engagement*. Stellenbosch: Africa Sun Media.

Swingler, S. 2014. *The Cape's youth gangs: Bigger, deeper, and more dangerous*. Available at: <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2014-05-26-the-cape-youth-gangs-bigger-deeper-more-dangerous/#.VXlxjcs9K70>. [Accessed: 28 November 2016].

The Economist. 2016. *Worldwide Educating for the Future Index: A benchmark for the skills of tomorrow*. Intelligence Unit Limited.

Tudge, J.R.H., Mokrova, I., Hatfield, B.E. & Karnik, R.B. 2009. Uses and misuses of Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory of human development. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, 1(4): 198- 210.

Ubuntu Pathways. 2016. *The Ubuntu Model*. Available at: http://www.ubuntufund.org/approach-impact/the-ubuntu-model.html?gclid=Cj0KEQjw3s6-BRC3kKL_86XDvq4BEiQAAUqtZ_Qbz6D_sB6X8ld7actR9BHeu546C8lzN0q2BoeShkUaAhFt8P8HAQ?referrer=https://www.google.co.za/ [Accessed: 19 August 2016].

Ungar, M., Gazinor, M & Richter, J. 2013. Annual Research Review: What is resilience within the social ecology of human development? *The Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 54(4), 348-66.

United Nations: Human Rights. 1989. *Convention on the rights of the child*. Available at: <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CRC.aspx> [Accessed: 7 November 2017].

United Nations. 2015a. *Sustainable Development Goals: 17 Goals to transform our World*. Available at: <http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/sustainable-development-goals/> [Accessed: 7 November 2017].

United Nations. 2015b. *The Millennium Development Goals Report 2015*. New York: United Nations.

Vander Zanden, J.W. 1997. *Human Development*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Sussman, M.B., Steinmetz, S.K. & Peterson, G.W. 1999. *Handbook of marriage and the family*. US: Springer

Van Ham, H., Maley, D., Maclennan, D., Bailey, N. & Simpson, L. 2012. *The mechanism(s) of neighbourhoods' effects: theory, evidence, and policy implication*. Amsterdam: Springer.

Van Heerden, J. 2016. Quality in South African early learning centres: Mothers' and teachers' views and understanding. *South African Journal of Childhood Education*. 6(1).

Vilanculo, A.B. 1998. *Churches and community development: investigating a model of community empowerment, participation and human resources development in a local community: a case study*. Unpublished Master's Dissertation. Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch.

Waite, M. 2006. *Oxford Paperback Thesaurus*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Ward, L., Van der Merwe, A. & Dawes, A. 2013. *Youth violence: Sources and solutions in South Africa*. Claremont: University of Cape Town Press.

Weikart, D.P. 2000. *Early childhood education: need and opportunity*. Paris: UNESCO/ International Institute for Educational Planning.

Weinstein, C. & David, T. 1987. *Spaces for children: built environment and child development*. New York: Plenum.

Western Cape Education Department. 2016. *Metro North Education District*. Available at: <https://www.westerncape.gov.za/facility/metro-north-education-district-parow> [Accessed: 20 April 2016].

Western Cape Government. 2017. *Expanded Public Works Programme*. Available at: <https://www.westerncape.gov.za/general-publication/expanded-public-works-programme-epwp-0> [Accessed: 20 December 2017].

Westoby, P. & Dowling, G. 2013. *Theory and practice of dialogical community development international perspective*. Hoboken: Taylor and Francis.

Westoby, P. & Shevellar, L. 2012. *Learning and mobilising for community development a radical tradition of community-based education and training*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

Whitebread, D. 2012. *Developmental psychology and early childhood education*. London: Sage.

Woden, Q. 2016. Investing in early childhood development: essential interventions, family contexts, and broader policies. *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, 17:4, 465 -476.

Worden, N. 2002. *The making of modern South Africa*. 3rd ed. UK: Blackwell Publishing.

World Health Organization. 2013. *Global Tuberculosis Report 2013*. France: WHO.

Wray-Lake, L. & Syvertsen, A.K. 2011. *The developmental roots of social responsibility in childhood and adolescence*. New York: Wiley.

Young, M.E. 1996. *Early child development: investing in the future*. Washington: The World Bank.

Young, M.E. 2002. *From early childhood development to human development: Investing in our children's future*. Washington: The World Bank.

APPENDIX 1: Focus Group Questionnaire

QUESTIONNAIRE: Focus Group Questionnaire

Questions

1. In this focus group, how many participants own formally registered ECD centres?
2. In this focus group, how many participants own informal ECD centres?
3. For the formal centre owners: Why did you register? What are the benefits?
4. For the informal centre owners: Why did you not register? Will you register in future?
5. As the owner of an ECD centre, were you consulted, involved or participated in the development and implementation of the City of Cape Town's ECD programmes? Please tell me more...
6. What is your view on the allocation of resources and capacities for ECD to your centre?
7. What, in your opinion, does the community know about community development? And about ECD?
8. What, in your opinion, how does the community feel about ECD? Do they participate? Why do you say so?
9. What is the impact of the ECD programme on the community?
10. Can you suggest alternative ways of delivering ECD services to the community?
11. Children raised in a neighbourhood/community that is safe and cohesive are less vulnerable to poor child development than children living in unsafe and non-cohesive neighbourhoods. Various elements of the child's neighbourhood or community can influence early childhood development. I am going to read a list of factors that may impact ECD and I want the group to tell me if you think it is an important issue in your community.
 - 11.1 Poor parenting capacities?
 - 11.2 Lack of knowledge of early childhood milestones by mothers or other primary caregivers?
 - 11.3 Poor bonding or attachment between the child and the mother/caregiver?
 - 11.4 Family violence, discord or a breakdown of the family?
 - 11.5 Children experiencing physical, emotional, sexual abuse, and/or neglect?
 - 11.6 Child living in extreme poverty?
 - 11.7 Children exposed to negative influences from their neighbourhoods (crime, violence, drug abuse, unsafe environments, not enough play parks or recreation)?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR KIND PARTICIPATION.

APPENDIX 2: Personal Interview Questionnaire with managers of ECD

1	<p>QUESTIONNAIRE: Personal Interview Questionnaire for owner/managers of ECDs</p> <p>Questions</p> <p>1. In this focus group, how many participants own formally registered ECD centres?</p> <p>2. In this focus group, how many participants own informal ECD centres?</p> <p>3. For the formal centre owners: Why did you register? What are the benefits?</p> <p>4. For the informal centre owners: Why did you not register? Will you register in future?</p> <p>5. As the owner of an ECD centre, were you consulted, involved or participated in the development and implementation of the City of Cape Town's ECD programmes? Please tell me more...</p> <p>6. What is your view on the allocation of resources and capacities for ECD to your centre?</p> <p>7. What, in your opinion, does the community know about community development? And about ECD?</p> <p>8. What, in your opinion, how does the community feel about ECD? Do they participate? Why do you say so?</p> <p>9. What is the impact of the ECD programme on the community?</p> <p>10. Can you suggest alternative ways of delivering ECD services to the community?</p> <p>11. Children raised in a neighbourhood/community that is safe and cohesive are less vulnerable to poor child development than children living in unsafe and non-cohesive neighbourhoods. Various elements of the child's neighbourhood or community can influence early childhood development. I am going to read a list of factors that may impact ECD and I want the group to tell me if you think it is an important issue in your community.</p> <p>11.1 Poor parenting capacities?</p> <p>11.2 Lack of knowledge of early childhood milestones by mothers or other primary caregivers?</p> <p>11.3 Poor bonding or attachment between the child and the mother/caregiver?</p> <p>11.4 Family violence, discord or a breakdown of the family?</p>
2	<p>11.5 Children experiencing physical, emotional, sexual abuse, and/or neglect?</p> <p>11.6 Child living in extreme poverty?</p> <p>11.7 Children exposed to negative influences from their neighbourhoods (crime, violence, drug abuse, unsafe environments, not enough play parks or recreation)?</p> <p align="center">THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR KIND PARTICIPATION.</p>

APPENDIX 3: Personal Interview Questionnaire with City of Cape Town official

QUESTIONNAIRE: Personal Interview with city official

Questions

1. How many formal registered and un-registered ECD centres are there in the Ravensmead/Liding & Elsies River area?
2. How many informal ECD centres exist in the area.
3. What are the benefits of being registered for an ECD centre?
4. Why do you think that some centres are not registered? Is the City of Cape Town working with them to encourage them to register in future?
5. Do you as consult with all the ECD centre, and to what extent does the City get involved or participated in the development and implementation of ECD programmes? Please tell me more....
6. What is your view on the allocation of resources and capacities for ECD to centre?
7. What, in your opinion, does the community know about community development? And about ECD?
8. In your opinion, how does the community feel about ECD? Do they participate? Why do you say so?
9. What is the impact of the ECD programme on the community?
10. Can you suggest alternative ways of delivering ECD services to the community?
11. Children raised in a neighbourhood/community that is safe and cohesive are less vulnerable to poor child development than children living in unsafe and non-cohesive neighbourhoods. Various elements of the child's neighbourhood or community can influence early childhood development. Below is a list of factors that may impact ECD and I want you to tell me if you think it is an important issue in the area where the centres are based.
 - 11.1 Poor parenting capacities?
 - 11.2 Lack of knowledge of early childhood milestones by mothers or other primary caregivers?
 - 11.3 Poor bonding or attachment between the child and the mother/caregiver?
 - 11.4 Family violence, discord or a breakdown of the family?
 - 11.5 Children experiencing physical, emotional, sexual abuse, and/or neglect?
 - 11.6 Child living in extreme poverty?
 - 11.7 Children exposed to negative influences from their neighbourhoods (crime, violence, drug abuse, unsafe environments, not enough play parks or recreation)?
 12. What future plans do the City have for the ECD centres in the area.
 13. Do you see an increase in ECD centres in the area formal or informal which do you think grow faster

APPENDIX 4: Informed Consent Form

Informed consent form and questions for owners of informal and formal childcare centres in Rayvenhied / Uitsig and Elsie's River

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA
DEPARTMENT OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
INVESTIGATOR: Edwina Schenckberg

Introduction

I am a Master's student in the Department of Development Studies at the University of South Africa. I am asking you to take part in my research study of ECD programmes. You were selected as a possible participant because you own a childcare centre in Uitsig or Elsie's River. I ask you to read this form and ask any questions that you may have before agreeing to be in the study.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to understand the challenges the community face as far as ECD programmes in the Cape Flats are concerned. In particular, I wish to find out (1) the degree to which you were consulted, involved or participated in the development and implementation of the City of Cape Town's ECD programmes (2) your views on the allocation of resources and capacities for ECD in your centre (3) what you think the community knows, feels, thinks and does about community development in general, and about the ECD programme in particular (4) your views on the impact of the ECD programme on the community (5) alternative ways of delivering ECD services to the community.

Description of the Study Procedures

If you agree to be in this study, I shall ask you to:

- Sign the informed consent form
- Ask you a few questions and tape record your answers. The interview would last about 1 to 1.5 hours.

Risks/Discomforts of Being in the Study

There are no reasonable foreseeable (or expected) risks related to your participation in this study.

Benefits of Being in the Study

There are no direct benefits to participation in the study.

Compensation

You will not receive any compensation for your participation.

Costs

There is no cost to you to participate in this research study.

Confidentiality:

The records of this study will be kept private. I shall not include any information that will make it possible to identify you as a participant. Research records will be kept in a locked safe. All electronic information will be coded and secured using a password-protected file. Only I will have access to the audio tape recordings. These are used for the study purposes only, and will be erased and destroyed after the completion of my degree.

Voluntary Participation/Withdrawal

Your participation is voluntary. You are free to withdraw from the study or refuse to answer any question at any time. There is no penalty for not taking part or for stopping your participation.

Publishing of photos:

The right to publish photos taken of the facilities/infrastructure/staff and children.

Contacts and Questions:

For questions or more information concerning this research you may contact me at 021 913 1403 or 083 268 3856.

Copy of Consent Form:

You will be given a copy of this form to keep for your records and future reference.

Statement of Consent, Signature and Dates

I, the undersigned, have read the contents of this consent form and have been encouraged to ask questions. I have received answers to my questions. I give my consent to participate in this study. I have received (or will receive) a copy of this form.

Signature of the researcher	Signature of participant	Date
.....

APPENDIX 5: Ethical Clearance Certificate



2015-11-09

RESEARCH ETHICS APPLICATION FROM STUDENT NO 37429086

Title of MA: Social context, social cohesion and interventions: an assessment of early childhood development (ECD) programmes in selected communities in the Cape Flats

Ms ES Sonnenberg is a Master's student in Development Studies. She has passed the proposal module in November 2015 and her ethical clearance request served with the Departmental Higher Degrees Committee.

She is granted permission to proceed with the research, with the proviso that:

- (1) Children will not form part of the research participants recruited
- (2) Informed consent is sought and proof kept for all interviews and for photographs taken at the centres in the sample
- (3) The researcher ensure that the research project adheres to the values and principles expressed in the UNISA Policy on Research Ethics.
- (4) Any adverse circumstances arising in the undertaking of the research project that is relevant to the ethicality of the study, as well as changed in the methodology, should be communicated in writing to the Department of Development Studies' Research Ethics Review Committee. An amended application could be requested if there are substantial changes from the existing proposal, especially if those changes affect any of the study-related risks for the research participants.
- (5) The researcher will ensure that the research project adheres to any applicable national legislation, professional codes of conduct,



University of South Africa
Private Street, Medunwata, Ridge City of Tshwane
PO Box 352 UNISA 0003 South Africa
Telephone: +27 12 629 3111 Faxline: +27 12 629 4190
www.unisa.ac.za

institutional guidelines and scientific standards relevant to the specific field of study.

Sincerely

G. du Plessis

Prof GE du Plessis

Supervisor: Department of Development Studies
T/W 4-32

Tel 0124296507

Cell 0824421528

Dplegge@unisa.ac.za



University of South Africa
Private Street, Medunwata, Ridge City of Tshwane
PO Box 352 UNISA 0003 South Africa
Telephone: +27 12 629 3111 Faxline: +27 12 629 4190
www.unisa.ac.za